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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/25/56	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/1/56 - 4/24/56
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA		REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH V. WATERS	TYPED BY jbl
		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

SYNOPSIS:

QUARTERLY PERIOD

January 1, 1956, to March 31, 1956

Offices of CP, USA, together with that of NY State CP, removed from 268 7th Avenue, NYC, to 101 West 16th Street, NYC, in building of Jefferson School of Social Science, at end of January, 1956. EUGENE DENNIS, CP General Secretary, at 32nd Anniversary celebration of "Daily Worker" on 1/20/56 indicated CP would operate more openly and that CP seeks transition from capitalism to Socialism "by constitutional and democratic processes." National convention postponed because problems in connection with denunciation of STALIN

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 7- Bureau (100-3) (RM) 1- G-2, 1st Army (RM) 1- ONI, 3rd ND, NYC (RM) 1- OSI, 2nd OSI District, USAF (RM) 1- All Offices (RM) 4- New York (100-4931)	100-80638-1053	SEARCHED..... SERIAL # 12-14 APR 30 1956 FBI - NEW YORK J. V. Stalins [Signature]	

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necessitate a line for discussion within Party. Leadership in every district instructed to list membership of past seven or eight years to relocate members lost through lack of contact or just dropped out. Plans being made to reduce number carried as members at large by assigning them to clubs in order to exercise discipline and collect funds from them for Party use. CP 1956 Fund Drive scheduled for 4/1/56 to 6/30/56, with goal of \$175,000.00, with \$75,000.00 to be allotted to National Office, and \$100,000.00 for "Daily Worker."

[Redacted] Referral/Consult

[Redacted] Informant has furnished copy of "raffle ticket" type of book prepared for possible use in transfer of CP members. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, CP National Chairman, reported to have stated CP aims to have "open" Party, as opposed to its "isolationism" of past five years when underground, but in event McCarran Act is upheld, underground will be reactivated. FOSTER reported on 2/8/56 to be dissatisfied with leadership of EUGENE DENNIS as CP General Secretary.

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CP, USA, received invitation to, and dispatched greetings to 20th Congress of CPSU. Informant reports meeting of National Board on 3/6/56 analysed Congress statements, endorsed "new line," stating, "Russian system is right and will be victorious." Meeting also decided to adopt, as CP line, statement in KHRUSHCHEV's report to Congress that "co-existence is possible and war is not inevitable," is applicable to U.S., despite DENNIS' belief KHRUSHCHEV had expressed opinion people in US may have to use force and violence. "Daily Worker" of 3/30/56, referring to UN disarmament discussion, called for "organized and vociferous pressure by the people" to achieve disarmament. "Daily Worker" of 1/20/56 noted unanimity in UN Security Council in condemnation of Israel, claiming this was significant because of exclusion of USSR from preparation of resolution, and thus a demonstration of Soviet desire for peace. Editorial in "Daily Worker" of 3/12/56 on exile of Archbishop MAKARIOS of Cyprus, claimed US Administration is lined up on side of colonialism. Guide to be used as basis of CP discussions on 1956 elections states most important objective is building broad mass movements on issues, joining labor and the people's movement to defeat "the Cadillac Cabinet" and its "Democratic McCarthyite and Dixiecrat counterparts," as well as attacking the anti-Geneva policies of some "Fair Deal" Democrats.

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"Eyes on Washington," a leaflet described as "a program for people's legislation" urges a platform of: fulfilling the Geneva promise, peacetime taxes, \$1.25 minimum wage, 90 per cent farm price support, federal aid to education and housing, desegregation in education, repeal of Smith and McCarran Acts and abolition of McCarran-Walter Act.

Celebration of 75th birthday of FOSTER evoked greetings from numerous Communist Parties in European and Asian countries. Government motion to have FOSTER stand trial for violation of Smith Act regarded as "Godsend," in that he will be figure on which to have defense campaign and portray him as martyr. CP, in steel industry, to campaign for 30 hour week, oppose increase in union dues and try to get some of its members elected as delegates to United Steelworkers convention in September, 1956. [redacted]

[redacted] Chairman, CP National Trade Union Commission, stated at Philadelphia meeting on 2/20/56 that CP can no longer instruct top labor leaders what it wants them to do -- instead it would have to develop "a new left" among rank and file union members. "Daily Worker" published articles in January and February, 1956, on discontinuance of pension payments to veterans convicted, although war heroes. National Negro Commission at meeting in NYC on 1/7-8/56 heard report asserting Negro people still exist in South as oppressed nation, and that TILL murder case must take on anti-imperialist character and be linked to world forces fighting for colonial freedom.

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[redacted] Organizational [redacted]
of National Administrative Committee
as of January, 1955, wrote in "Political
Affairs" of January, 1956, that CP should
help form labor-youth alliance as part
of coalition to be built in 1956 electoral
campaign. "The Worker" of March 4, 1956,
noted that USSR was first country to
make International Women's Day an
official holiday. National Farm
Commission not to be established --
instead, Commission consisting of
representatives from Midwestern Districts
of CP will serve as a Farm Commission.
In note of 197th birthday of poet
ROBERT BURNS, [redacted] "Daily
Worker" columnist, on 1/25/56 observed
that BURNS was regarded as a "dangerous
character," and "for supporting Freedom's
cause, Burns was closely watched by
FBI men of his time." Proposed meeting
between C, USA, and Canadian Communist
functionaries in relation to Jewish work
postponed until definite policies toward
the Jewish question have been formed.
"Morning Freiheit" of March 30, 1956,
announced that \$157,336.00 had been
obtained in its "200,000.00 annual
fund drive. Article in "Jewish Life"
of February, 1956, declares solution
to Middle East problem can be had only
through Four Power agreement, exclusion
of USSR perpetuating cold war. DOKEY
A. WILKERSON, who attended meeting
of National Administrative Committee on
March 3, 1955, told a Jefferson School
of Social Science class on March 6, 1956,
that a Marxist must be an atheist, but
must realize religion must remain until
social conditions make it unnecessary.

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CP National Board reported on March 1, 1956, to have suggested devoting March to pushing FCSTER's book on international trade union movement, April to DENNIS' book, and May to book by GIL GREEN, National Committee member, "The Enemy Forgotten." MAX WEISS identified as in charge of CP education nationally.

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All informants in this report have furnished reliable information in the past or were in a position to furnish reliable information.

This is a joint report of pertinent activities of the Communist Party, USA, during the quarterly period, January 1, 1956 to March 31, 1956, prepared by the following Special Agents:

GUSTAV S. ABRANDT

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
WILLIAM C. MARTIN
JOSEPH P. MC CORMICK

[REDACTED]
JOSEPH T. QUILLEY

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
HERBERT K. STALLINGS
ALPHONSE J. SUIKUS

[REDACTED]
JOSEPH V. WATERS

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IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS

The following named individuals, mentioned in this report, may be identified as indicated below:

HERBERT APTHEKER

HERBERT APTHEKER testified on July 14, 1954, in the case of UNITED STATES versus KUZMA, et al, conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940, which took place in the U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania. APTHEKER testified that he was at that time a member of the Communist Party and had been a member since 1939.

MARION BACHRACH

MARION BACHRACH was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury, Southern District of New York, on June 20, 1951, on charges of conspiring to violate the Smith Act of 1940. On July 2, 1952, during the trial in U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, of UNITED STATES versus ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, et al, in which BACHRACH was a co-defendant on the above charge, BACHRACH was severed from the trial due to illness. BACHRACH is now on trial on the indictment returned June 20, 1951.

PHIL BART

T-1 advised on February 2, 1956, that PHIL BART is Assistant Executive Secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

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[redacted]
[redacted] was convicted on May 25, 1955, in U.S. District Court, Denver, Colorado, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940.

District Court, Denver, Colorado, on [redacted] Sandy, Utah, testified in U.S. he, [redacted] that was a member of the Communist Party from [redacted] until [redacted] on behalf of the Government. [redacted] testified on [redacted] that [redacted] was the Rocky Mountain regional director of the Communist Party.

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ALBERT E. BLUMBERG

The "Daily Worker" dated November 23, 1955, page 3, column 2, identified BLUMBERG as the National Legislative Director of the Communist Party.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM

T-11 advised on January 10, 1956, that LOUIS BURNHAM is a member of the Steering Committee of the National Negro Commission.

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

T-11 advised on December 8, 1955, that GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY was then Chairman of the New York District of the Communist Party.

MORRIS CHILDS

T-1 advised on February 28, 1956, that MORRIS CHILDS is a member of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District Board.

JOE CLARK

T-12 advised on September 30, 1955, that JOE CLARK was then the Foreign Editor of the "Daily Worker."

CHARLES COE

T-6 advised on April 14, 1952, that CHARLES COE was known to him to be a member of the National Farm Commission.

T-6 advised in March 1956 that COE is presently a member of the Eastern Regional Farm Commission, Communist Party, USA.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., was convicted on October 14, 1949, in U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

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The "Daily Worker" edition of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, stated that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party at the Communist Party convention in December, 1950.

EUGENE DENNIS

The "Daily Worker" of February 29, 1956, describes EUGENE DENNIS as General Secretary of the Communist Party. DENNIS was convicted on October 14, 1949, in U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

[redacted]

T-8 advised on March 1, 1956, that [redacted] was coordinator of all Communist Party activity in the South in early 1952 to the fall of 1953. At this time he was switched in his assignment to coordinate the work of the Texas Communist Party. Informant advised [redacted] continues to function as a member of the Southern Regional Committee of the Communist Party in charge of education.

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HOWARD FAST

T-29 advised on February 21, 1947, that HOWARD FAST was then a member of the Cultural Club Committee of the Communist Party.

FRED FINE

T-11 advised on March 20, 1956, that FINE was the National Executive Secretary of the Communist Party.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The "Daily Worker" of December 5, 1955, page 2, column 1, identified WILLIAM Z. FOSTER as National Chairman of the Communist Party.

On July 20, 1948, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury, Southern District of New York, on charges of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

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JOHN GATES

JOHN GATES was convicted on October 14, 1949, in U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. GATES was identified as editor-in-chief of the "Daily Worker" in the "Daily Worker" issue of March 23, 1956, page 8, column 2.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, lists GATES as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA.

LILLIAN GATES

T-44 advised in June 1955 that LILLIAN GATES was then a member of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party.

GIL GREEN

GIL GREEN was convicted on October 14, 1949, in U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. GREEN was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, at its fifteenth national convention, according to the "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1.

LOUIS HARAP

The February 27, 1956, issue of the "Daily Worker," page 2, column 1, refers to LOUIS HARAP as editor of "Jewish Life."

BARBARA HARTLE

BARBARA HARTLE was convicted in the U.S. District Court at Seattle, Washington, on October 10, 1953, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940.

IRVING HERMAN

T-11 advised on October 18, 1955, that IRVING HERMAN had said that the national office of the Communist Party had instructed that review commissions be established in every major Communist Party district. HERMAN said he would be occupied for two months assisting the setting up of review commissions in the districts.

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[redacted]
T-1 advised on January 3, 1956, that [redacted]
was then [redacted] of the Illinois-DuSable edition of "The
Worker."

JAMES E. JACKSON

An indictment was returned by a Federal Grand Jury in U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, on June 20, 1951, charging JAMES JACKSON with conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. JACKSON evaded arrest until December 2, 1955, when he surrendered to the U. S. Attorney, New York City.

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[redacted]
ARNOLD JOHNSON was convicted in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, on January 21, 1953, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940.

[redacted]
[redacted] is the wife of [redacted]

HOWARD "STRETCH" JOHNSON

T-11 advised on January 10, 1956, that HOWARD "STRETCH" JOHNSON is a member of the Steering Committee of the National Negro Commission.

[redacted]
[redacted] was convicted in U.S. District Court, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on August 13, 1954, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

[redacted]
T-6 advised in March 1956 that [redacted] is a Communist Party member from the Albany area and is [redacted] of the Farmers'Union of the New York Milkshed, an organization of which ARCHIE WRIGHT, a Communist Party member, is President.

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RING LARDNER, JR.

RING LARDNER, JR., was convicted of contempt of Congress on June 22, 1950, in connection with hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was convicted in the U.S. District Court, Chicago, Illinois, on January 26, 1955, of violation of the Smith Act in that he was a member of the Communist Party, knowing the Communist Party taught and advocated the overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence.

T-11 advised on December 8, 1955, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was then District organizer of the Illinois-Indiana district of the Communist Party.

[redacted]

T-13 advised on February 9, 1956, that he had recently learned from a Communist Party functionary that the national leadership of the Communist Party had decided to remove [redacted] from this assignment as chairman of the National Peace Commission of the Communist Party and return him to the staff of the "Daily Worker."

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[redacted] On November 2, 1955, T-6 advised that [redacted] was probably a member of the State Communist Party Committee of New Jersey and was probably a member of the Communist Party State Board of New Jersey.

[redacted]

An indictment was returned by a Federal Grand Jury, U. S. District Court, Southern District of New York, on June 20, 1951, charging [redacted] with conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. [redacted] evaded arrest until December 5, 1955, when he surrendered to the U.S. Marshal, Newark, New Jersey.

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JOHN T. MC MANUS

The March 26, 1956, issue of the "National Guardian" in its masthead identifies JOHN T. MC MANUS as general manager of that publication.

JOSEPH NORTH

According to an article written by JOSEPH NORTH which appeared in the "Daily Worker" issue of September 8, 1946, NORTH stated he had been a Communist Party member since 1931.

T-9 made available on March 3, 1955, information which indicated that JOSEPH NORTH was a member of a Communist Party club in Westchester County, New York, in 1952.

ANDREW ONDA

On January 18, 1952, ANDREW ONDA was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury, Western District of Pennsylvania, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. On November 14, 1952, ONDA was granted a severance from trial because of ill health.

PETTIS PERRY

T-6 advised on August 25, 1954, that PETTIS PERRY was Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, Farm Commission.

PETTIS PERRY was convicted on January 21, 1953, in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

PAUL ROBESON

T-37 advised in June 1950 that PAUL ROBESON was known to him prior to 1945 as a concealed Communist. ROBESON has been denied a U. S. passport because of his Communist activities.



T-6 advised on February 15, 1956, that he had learned from PHIL BART that [redacted] is the overall political figure for the Communist Party in Minnesota, reaching into Wisconsin and the Dakotas.

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WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

T-1 advised on December 8, 1955, that WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN was then the District Organizer of the California District Communist Party.

[redacted]

T-11 advised on December 8, 1955, that [redacted] was then the Executive Secretary of the New York District of the Communist Party.

[redacted]

T-13 advised on March 11, 1956, that [redacted] was the National Trade Union [redacted] and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Communist Party Board.

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LOU SLOCUM

T-6 advised in March 1956 that LOU SLOCUM is a Communist Party member in the New Jersey area and is Executive Secretary of the Eastern Farmers' Union.

NED SPARKS

T-11 advised on December 8, 1955, that as of December 1955 NED SPARKS had been assigned to the national office of the Communist Party and was handling propaganda and ideological matters.

JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL was convicted in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, on October 14, 1949, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940.

[redacted]

T-1 advised that [redacted] was a member of the Division Committee of the Loop Division of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party district and was the leading Communist Party member of the district with contacts among professional people.

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[redacted]

T-11 advised on March 8, 1956, that [redacted] a member of the District Board of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District, had been offered a position as an assistant to FRED FINE and PHIL BART in the National Communist Party Organization Department. According to the informant, [redacted] had, at least for the time being, turned down this proposed assignment in the national office of the Communist Party.

[redacted]

In 1948 [redacted] was appointed Assistant National Labor [redacted] of the Communist Party according to the "Daily Worker," November 18, 1948, [redacted]

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The "Daily Worker," January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reflects STEIN was elected as an alternate to the National Committee of the Communist Party in December 1950. On June 20, 1951, [redacted] was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in the Southern District of New York for violation of the Smith Act. From that date until he was arrested near Twain Harte, California, in the company of [redacted] Communist Party fugitive, on August 27, 1953, [redacted] whereabouts was unknown.

On May 3, 1954, [redacted] was sentenced in the Northern District of California to two years on accessory charge and one year on conspiracy to harbor, with three years to serve. [redacted] is presently serving his sentence at the Federal House of Detention, New York City, and is now on trial on the indictment returned June 20, 1951.

[redacted]

In January 1955 T-11 identified [redacted] as the Organizational [redacted] of the National Administrative Committee of the Communist Party, USA.

ED STRONG

T-1 advised on March 11, 1956, that ED STRONG was then the head of the Department of the South for the national office of the Communist Party.

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[redacted]
[redacted] was convicted on October 14, 1949,
in U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, of
conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1,
column 1, lists ROBERT THOMPSON as a member of the National
Committee of the Communist Party, USA.

PAT TOOHEY

T-6 advised in March 1956 that PAT TOOHEY is
Chairman of the Eastern Regional Farm Commission, Communist
Party, USA.

JAMES TORMEY

T-11 advised on March 20, 1956, that JAMES TORMEY
will be made a member of the National Organizational Commission
of the Communist Party, USA, as assistant to FRED FINE.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

The "Daily Worker," December 14, 1954, page 5,
column 1, identified ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG as founder and
head of International Publishers.

MAX WEISS

An indictment was returned by the Federal Grand
Jury at Chicago, Illinois, on May 14, 1954, charging MAX
WEISS with violation of the Smith Act in that WEISS was a
member of the Communist Party knowing that the Communist Party
taught and advocated the overthrow and destruction of the
government of the United States by force and violence.

T-13 stated on December 8, 1955, that MAX WEISS
was then a member of the National Administrative Committee
of the Communist Party.

SAUL WELLMAN

SAUL WELLMAN was convicted in U.S. District Court,
Detroit, Michigan, on February 26, 1954, of conspiracy to
violate the Smith Act.

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DOXEY A. WILKERSON

T-1 advised on March 3, 1955, that DOXEY A. WILKERSON was in attendance at a meeting of the National Administrative Committee of the Communist Party which was held on March 3, 1955, in New York City. According to the informant, the National Administrative Committee was the highest body of the "legal" or "open" apparatus of the Communist Party.

JOHN WILLIAMSON

JOHN WILLIAMSON was convicted on October 14, 1949, in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. He was released from prison on March 1, 1955. WILLIAMSON was granted permission to leave the United States voluntarily under warrant for deportation and departed from the United States for England on May 4, 1955.

WILLIAMSON was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, at its fifteenth national convention, according to the "Daily Worker," January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1.

HENRY WINSTON

HENRY WINSTON was convicted on October 14, 1949, in U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, lists HENRY WINSTON as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA.

CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER was convicted in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, on October 14, 1949, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, lists CARL WINTER as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA.

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T-19 advised on April 20, 1956, that as of May 1956
[redacted] is to become a close collaborator with EUGENE
DENNIS and other top Communist Party functionaries.

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GLOSSARY OF ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

Set out herein are characterizations of organizations and publications mentioned in this report.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

American Federation of Polish Jews

T-17 advised on May 12, 1949, that at the convention of the American Federation of Polish Jews which was held in New York City on March 26-27, 1949, the "right wing" elements were eliminated and the "left wing" Communist element was elected.

On December 20, 1949, T-17 reported he had been informed by a member of the Communist Party that the American Federation of Polish Jews was under the full control of the "left wing and progressive elements."

On May 17, 1955, T-17 stated that this organization was still controlled by Communists and "left wingers."

American Peace Crusade

The American Peace Crusade has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"The American Socialist"

On February 16, 1955, T-45 advised that "The American Socialist" is an official publication of the Socialist Union of America, and is distributed to the general public.

Armenian Progressive League of America (APLA)

The APLA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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BRIEHL's Farm

The "Daily Worker" of August 31, 1942, reported that FRED BRIEHL was elected to the New York State Committee of the Communist Party in 1942.

Civil Rights Congress

The Civil Rights Congress has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"Daily People's World"

The "Daily People's World" was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, as the official organ of the Communist Party of the West Coast.

"Daily Worker"

The "Daily Worker" is an East Coast daily Communist newspaper.

"Facts for Farmers"

"Among those publications which the committee found 'to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system.' "(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, page 224.)

International Publishers

Cited as the "official American Communist Party publishing house" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, May 11, 1948.

International Workers Order (IWO)

The IWO has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Jefferson School of Social Science

The Jefferson School of Social Science has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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"Jewish Life"

"Jewish Life", in the issue of April, 1952, page 22, columns 1 and 2, in an article entitled, "30th Birthday Greetings to 'Morning Freiheit,'" stated in part: "We of 'Jewish Life' owe a special debt to the 'Morning Freiheit' for we are its English speaking off-spring."

Jewish Music Verband (Jewish Music Alliance)

T-17, on January 21, 1949, and again on May 17, 1955, advised that the Jewish Music Verband (Jewish Music Alliance) is part of the Jewish cultural progressive movement which is being carried out by the former Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, the Yiddisher Kultur Farband, and other Jewish mass organizations under the leadership of the National Jewish Commission, Communist Party, USA.

Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order (JPFO)

The JPFO has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Labor Youth League (LYL)

The LYL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"Lraper"

"Lraper" is a thrice-weekly newspaper published in the Armenian language. The October 5, 1954, issue of this publication reflects that it is owned by the APLA, 40 East 12th Street, New York City.

"March of Labor"

On January 22, 1953, T-12 advised that JOHN STEUBEN, editor of the publication "March of Labor", has been active in trade union work for the Communist Party, USA for many years.

"Masses & Mainstream"

"Masses & Mainstream" was cited "as the successor to 'New Masses, 'a Communist magazine,'" by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, report number 1953, dated April 26, 1950, (originally released October 23, 1949) page 75.

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"Morning Freiheit"

The "Daily Worker" for December 9, 1946, page 7, column 1, editorially referred to the "Morning Freiheit" as the Jewish language Communist newspaper.

"Narodni Glasnik"

Cited as Communist by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations, House Report No. 1951, April 26, 1950, (originally released June 26, 1949) page 15.

National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case

HOWARD RUSHMORE, a newspaper reporter with the "New York Journal American", advised in January, 1952, that this committee was formed on January 2, 1952, for the purpose of obtaining a new trial for JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG. The ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL were convicted, of conspiracy to commit espionage, on March 29, 1951, in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York. The ROSENBERGS were sentenced to death on April 5, 1951, and MORTON SOBELL was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment on the same date. The ROSENBERGS were executed on June 19, 1953. MORTON SOBELL is currently serving his sentence at the United States Penitentiary, Alcatraz, California.

"National Guardian"

The 1949 report of the California Committee on Un-American Activities on page 394, cited the "National Guardian" as "a publication launched in New York in 1948 aiming at national circulation which they found from its inception notoriously Stalinist in its staff, writers, management and content."

"New Challenge"

Considered by LYL members to be the official monthly publication of the Labor Youth League, according to T-30.

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"Political Affairs"

Cited as an "official Communist Party monthly theoretical organ" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, May 11, 1948, and April 1, 1947.

Socialist Union of America

On November 8, 1954, T-46 advised that the Socialist Union of America was formed as a result of the split in the Socialist Workers Party on November 21, 1953, at the Mid-West Founding Conference, Detroit, Michigan. T-46 stated that the primary reason for this split was that the minority group led by [redacted] also known as the [redacted] believed that the organization should enter into other left wing groups, such as the Communist Party, with the intention of swinging these groups to the right or left, thereby bringing about a revolution.

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Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"The Worker"

"The Worker" is the Sunday edition of the "Daily Worker", previously mentioned.

Yiddisher Kultur Farband (YKUF)

The YKUF has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NY 100-4931

MEMBERSHIP

(Bufile 100-3-68)
(NYfile 100-80638)

This section was prepared by SA JOSEPH V. WATERS.

T-11 has advised on January 16, 1956, that the Party leadership in every district received instructions to make a list of the membership for the past seven or eight years in order to relocate those lost through lack of contact or who just dropped out. Further, efforts are to be made to go back to the smaller cities in several states in order to re-establish Party contacts in those places neglected during the time most of the leadership was underground.

This informant also advised that plans were being made to reduce the number of those carried by the Party as members-at-large. It is expected everyone will be assigned to a club except those who may be in very "strategic" positions. Such persons may remain as members at large but must be in contact with someone from the Party.

Assignment to a club is regarded as necessary, first, to exercise discipline, and, secondly, to collect dues and funds to provide for the Party's requirements.

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INFORMANTS

<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-1			
CG 5824 - S CP Steel Commission meeting, 3/10 and 11/56	3/12/56		SA JOHN E. KEATING
CP National Farm Commission not to be established	2/6/56		SA JOHN E. KEATING
Politburo of National CP interest in farm crisis	2/28/56		SA JOHN E. KEATING
Documentation of PHIL BART, DCXKEY A. WILKERSON, MORRIS CHILDS, WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, ED STRONG.			
[redacted]			
Decision to postpone CP convention	4/4/56		SA JOHN E. KEATING
Removal of [redacted] from chairmanship of National Peace Commission	2/9/56		SA JOHN E. KEATING
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR. 1/23/56, to be chairman of New York State CP; GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY to become Executive or Administrative Secretary of NYSCP; JOHN GATES and MAX WEISS made members of NYSCP Board			SA JOHN E. KEATING
National Board Meeting re "Daily Worker"	3/11/56		SA JOHN E. KEATING

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-2 [redacted]	CP Steel Commission Conference on 1/29/56	1/31/56	[redacted]
T-3 [redacted]	CP Textile Commission meeting on 1/14/56	1/18/56	[redacted]
T-1 [redacted]	CP meeting 2/20/56	2/21, 24/56	SA B. PERKOWSKI, R.
T-5 [redacted]	Policy of CP for white collar workers to seek employment in large corporations	2/7/56	SA THOMAS H. FARROW
T-6 [redacted]	Meeting of Eastern Regional CP Farm Commission on 2/25/56	2/15/56	[redacted] RICHARD H. BLASSER
	Denver Convention of NFU	2/29/56 3/15/56 3/21/56	[redacted] RICHARD H. BLASSER [redacted]
	CP interest in reinstating "The Southerner" and activities of DON WEST	2/15/56	[redacted] RICHARD H. BLASSER

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
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[redacted]	Art exhibit for "Daily Worker", "National Guardian", and Committee for Freedom for MORTON SOBELL	2/29/56	SAS RICHARD H. BLASSER and [redacted]
	FOSTER birthday celebration on 3/9/56	3/10/56	SA RICHARD H. BLASSER
	Decision to go underground	2/29/56	SAS RICHARD H. BLASSER and [redacted]
	Reason for surrender of GIL GREEN	2/29/56	SAS RICHARD H. BLASSER and [redacted]
	Re-evaluation of CP policy from 1948 to present; assignments of personnel; CP awaiting decision on McCarran Act and Smith Act appeals	2/29/56	SAS RICHARD H. BLASSER and [redacted]
	Documentation of [redacted] LOU SLOCUM, PAT TOOHEY and CHARLES COE, PETTIS PERRY [redacted]		b6 b7C b7D

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INFORMANTS (Cont'd)

IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED
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T-6

[redacted]	Security Measures: attempts to detect informants	2/29/56	SAS RICHARD H. BLASSER and [redacted]
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T-7

NY 1637 - S*	3/7/56	3/7/56
CP, USA Receipts and Expenditures, 1955		3/7/56

Security Measures:	3/7/56
New Method of Transfer	

T-8

NY 1693 - S*	CP farm matters in South	3/1/56
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Security Measures:	2/1/56
Use of pre-arranged code	

Documentation of

[redacted]

T-9

NY 1294 - S* Documentation of JOSEPH NORTH

T-10

[redacted]	DOXEY A. WILKERSON conducted class in "The Meaning of Marxism" at Jefferson School of Social Science, 3/6/56	3/7/56	[redacted]
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INFORMANTS (Cont'd)

IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED
T-11 CG 5824 - S	[redacted] dissatisfied	2/1/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	BEN DAVIS, JR. differs with National CP leadership	2/10/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Elections to be discussed at National CP Plenum	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	CP position on 1956 elections	2/28/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Composition of Negro Commission	1/10/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Concentration on Educational Work	2/1/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Existence of Ed. Guide, California CP	3/22/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Policy at "Daily Worker"	1/16/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Banning of STALIN's book	2/24/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Discussion of CP role in Negro Liberation Movement	1/10/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING

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IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED
T-11 CG 5824 - S	Objectives of TILL Case	1/10/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Defense Negro Leadership	1/10/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Food and Funds Campaign	1/10/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	NAACP Washington Mobilization	1/10/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	[redacted] expelled from CP	3/16/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	CP fund drive and budget for 1956	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Security Measures: Stringent security measures effected	4/2/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Security Measures: Use of blackboards	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	View of ED STRONG on AFL-CIO merger	1/10/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Description of headquarters of CP, USA at 101 W. 16th Street, NYC	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-11 CG 5824 - S	National Board meeting on 3/5/56	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	National Board meeting 3/7/56 on 3/6/56		[redacted]
	Executive of National Board to be held on 3/15/56	3/8/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Proposed agenda of Plenum to be held 4/28 to 30/56	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Leadership situation in CP, USA	1/16/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Dissatisfaction with composition of National Office	3/8/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	State of health of EUGENE DENNIS	2/1/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Evaluation of leadership	2/1/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	EDWARD STRONG in charge of Department of the South with three full time workers in South	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-11 CG 5824 - S	Appointment of committee to secure publication of book by GIL GREEN	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Participation of JACK STACHEL in policy making of CP, USA and as editor of "Daily Worker"	1/16 and 18/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	JAMES TORMEY to be made member of National Organization Commission	3/20/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Documentation of GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, JAMES TORMEY, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, FRED FINE, LOUIS E. BURNHAM, NED SPARKS.		b6 b7C
	List of membership for 1/16/56 past seven or eight years to be made up in every district to relocate those lost		SA JOHN E. KEATING

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T-11
CG 5824 - S Plans made to reduce number of those carried by CP as members at large; assignment to club regarded as necessary 1/16/56 SA JOHN E. KEATING

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T-12

[redacted] Documentation of JOE CLARK, "March of Labor"

Celebration of 32nd Anniversary of "Daily Worker" on 1/20/56 1/24/56 SA GUSTAV S. ABRANDT

JOHN GATES "Daily Worker" editor 1/6/56 SA GUSTAV S. ABRANDT

"Daily Worker" staff meeting on XX th Congress 4/6/56 SA GUSTAV S. ABRANDT

T-13
CG 5824 - S ED STRONG differs with JAMES JACKSON 2/1/56 SA JOHN E. KEATING

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IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED
T-13 CG 5824 - S	CP position on 1956 elections	1/4/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Position of MAX WEISS as National Education Director	1/16/56 1/18/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	NED SPARKS assistant to MAX WEISS	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Publication of DENNIS' and GATES' speeches in pamphlet form	3/1/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Publication of GIL GREEN's book	3/2/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Proposals for publishing CP books	3/1/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	CP support of "March of Labor"	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Discussion of CP role in Negro Liberation Movement	1/16/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING

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IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED	
T-13 CG 5824 - S	Defense of CP Negro Leadership	1/16/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING	b6 b7c
	Info re GIL GREEN's surrender	2/28/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING	
	Current status of underground	3/11/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING	
	Reaction of CP, USA to 20th Congress CPSU	2/24/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING	
	National Board Meeting on 3/6/56	3/7/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING	
	JOHN WILLIAMSON's communications to EUGENE DENNIS in March, 1956, re 20th Congress of CPSU	3/13/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING	
	Re establishing Latin American Liaison	3/13/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING	
	[redacted] expelled from CP	3/27/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING	

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-13 CG 5824 - S	Letter concerning book written by EUGENE DENNIS	3/22/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Info re pending trial of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	3/15/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Composition of National Office	1/16/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Postponement of celebration of FOSTER's birthday	2/6/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Consideration of National Conference on organization in April, 1956	2/6/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Meeting of National Board on 3/5/56	2/29/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Organization of CP leadership around policies of EUGENE DENNIS	1/18/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	FRED FINE to be based in Chicago	1/18/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-13 CG 5824 - S	Assignments of personnel	2/2/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Steps to be taken in case of ruling against CP on McCarran Act	1/18/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
	Documentation of [redacted] [redacted] MAX WEISS. [redacted]		
T-14 NY 1697 - S*	WILLIAM Z. FOSTER not satisfied with EUGENE DENNIS 2/8/56	2/8/56	
	FOSTER attacks JOE CLARK, 2/22/56	2/22/56	
	FOSTER comments on Israel	3/4/56	
T-15 NY 1694 - S*	WILLIAM Z. FOSTER disagrees with EUGENE DENNIS 2/21/56	2/21/56	
	FOSTER attacks JOE CLARK, 2/27/56	2/27/56	

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IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED
T-15 NY 1694 - S*	Statement of FOSTER re going along with Soviet Union	3/23/56	
T-16 SF 1425 - S*	CP members demand explanation of 20th CP Congress, USSR 3/20/56	3/20/56	
	Objection by WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN to Plenum on 4/28 to 30/56 and agenda	3/20/56	
	Opposition to holding of CP Convention	2/23/56	
T-17 [redacted]	Documentation of Jewish Music Verband, aka: Jewish Music Alliance; American Federation of Polish Jews		

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
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T-17

[redacted]	National tour of [redacted]	1/31/56	[redacted]
	Rubin Brainin Clinic Committee preparation for banquet	1/6/56	[redacted]

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T-18

CSNY 971 - S	Submission of APLA circular #4	2/13/56	SA JAMES H. KAVANAGH
	"Lrapet" Day quotas	2/13/56	SA JAMES H. KAVANAGH

T-19

NY 694 - S*	Proposed meeting between Canadian and CP, USA leaders	2/1 and 27/56	[redacted]
	Purge of Jewish leaders in Russia	3/2/56	
	Discussion of distribution of surplus leadership	1/20/56	
	Loss of membership in IWO	3/22/56	

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-19 NY 694 - S*	Policy re underground operations	1/20/56	[Redacted]
	Statement of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER on reason for setting up headquarters at 101 West 16th Street and 268 Seventh Avenue, NYC, retained for NY County	1/20/56	[Redacted]
	CP, USA Reserve Fund activities	2/15,17/56	[Redacted]
	Eighth floor at 101 West 16th Street to be taken over by Defense Committee and [Redacted] would have charge of its office	2/15,17/56	[Redacted]

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-19 NY 694 - S*	CP organization to be committee function, with FRED FINE heading it, with PHIL BART as member, with a similar committee on finances	2/15/56	[Redacted]
	Concern of CP for health of EUGENE DENNIS	2/6/56	[Redacted]
	Physical condition of FINE and DENNIS	2/15/56	[Redacted]
	Documentation of LEON WOFSY		
T-20 Former [Redacted]	Dispute over article published by NACHMAN MEISEL in Israel	2/24/56	[Redacted]
T-21 [Redacted]	12th National Convention of Jewish Music Alliance	2/8/56	SA JAMES J. KERIN
	Report to 12th National Convention by I.E. RONCH	2/8/56	SA JAMES J. KERIN

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T-22

[redacted]	New attitude of pro-TITO and pro-Cominform factions of Yugoslav groups	3/23/56	SA JAMES M. ANDERSON
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T-23

NY 1317 - S*	Expenses of Negro Commission in "Draft Budget for 1956"	1/11/56
	Negro Cadre Problems	12/22/55
	Memo prepared re FOSTER's new book	1/26/56
	1/11/56	1/11/56
	Invitation of CPSU to CP, USA to attend 20th Congress of CPSU	1/11/56
	CP National Expenditures for 1955	1/11/56

T-24

NY 1474 - S*	TILL pamphlet order	1/19/56
	Equipping of new quarters of CP with new flooring, partitions and painting	January, 1956

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-25 [redacted]	Conference to be held on 3/18/56 on STALIN question	3/17/56	[redacted]
T-26 [redacted]	CP Press Meeting on 3/2/56	3/5/56	[redacted]
T-27 [redacted]	Time of publication of GIL GREEN's book, "The Enemy Forgotten"	3/8/56	[redacted]
T-28 [redacted]	Replacement of SAMUEL SILLEN by CHARLES HUMBOLDT as editor of "Masses and Mainstream"	3/30/56	[redacted]
	Security Measures: Surveillances	3/1/56	[redacted]

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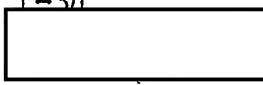
<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-29 Former [redacted]	Documentation of HOWARD FAST		b6 b7C b7D
T-30 [redacted]	Documentation of "New Challenge"		
T-31 NY 693 - S*	Reprints of "Daily Worker" article by [redacted]	1/16/56	
	Occupancy by CP, USA of premises at 268 Seventh Avenue, NYC, during January, 1956 and removal to 101 West 16th Street, NYC, at end of month	January, 1956	

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-32 	Bank account of CP, USA	2/1/56 3/1/56 4/2/56	SA ALPHONSE J. SUTKUS
(by request)			
T-33 	Security Measures: Security precautions utilized by former CP Underground Operatives	1/31/56	Cleveland Office
T-34 	Security Measures: Coded record keeping	1/27/56	SA RICHARD H. BLASSER
	Leaflet, "Eyes On Washington"	3/22/56	"

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<u>IDENTITY OF SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>	<u>DATE RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED</u>
T-35 NY 1743 - S*	Security Measures: Use of blackboards	3/15/56	
	Foreword to GIL GREEN's book "The Enemy Forgotten"	3/15/56	b6 b7C b7D
T-36 NY 1726 - S*	Information re seizure of "Daily Worker" and CP headquarters	3/27/56	
T-37 LOUIS BUDENZ (by request)	Documentation of PAUL ROBESON		
T-38 [redacted]	IRS action against CP, USA	4/11/56	[redacted]
T-39 NY 1475 - S*	Occupancy by CP, USA of premises at 268 Seventh Avenue, NYC, during January, 1956 and removal to 101 West 16th Street, NYC, at end of month FRED FINE to coordinate work of CP office.	January, 1956	

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IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED
T-40 NY 1750 - S*	Use of premises at 23 West 26th Street, NYC	3/29/56	
T-11	GATES' remarks at VALB Rally on 2/12/56	2/14/56	
T-12	Decisions of Conference on weekend of 2/17/56	2/28/56	
T-13	Meeting of eastern district organizers on 4/2/56	3/29/56	b6 b7C b7D
T-14	Documentation of LILLIAN GATES		
T-15	Documentation of "The American Socialist"		

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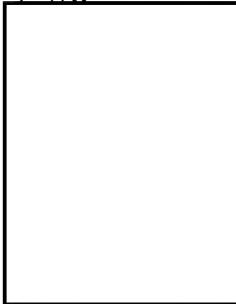
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T-16



Documentation of
Socialist Union of
America

(by
request)

T-47



(by request)

Attempts of
Farmers Union
of NY Milkshed
and Eastern Farmers
Union to become
affiliated with
NFU

4/4/56



Careful consideration has been given to
each source concealed and T symbols were utilized in this
report only in those instances where the identity of the
source must be concealed.

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The following Special Agents participated in
the fisur conducted 1/6 to 8/56:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
HOWARD G. KINNALLY
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
JOHN B. MEADE
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

WFO airtel to Bureau dated 3/3/56 entitled
"COMINFIL NAACP" shows that agents of the WFO observed EDWARD
STRONG, LOUIS BURNHAM, [REDACTED] and
JAMES E. JACKSON in Washington, D.C. at the time of the NAACP
mobilization on Civil Rights.

Several symbols, T-1, T-11 and T-13 have been
assigned to CG 5824 - S to better protect the identity of this
source.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Cont'd)

JVW:PEH

-1-

NY 100-4931

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report have been designated for all offices, in accordance with specific Bureau instructions.

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report pertinent activities of the CP, USA for the quarterly period 4/1/56 to 6/30/56.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, 1/20/56, New York.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-74560)

SUBJECT: CP, USA FUNDS
IS - C

DATE: 4/30/56

On 4/11/56, NY 1637-S*, who is in a position to furnish reliable information, made available documents in the possession of PHILIP BART, member of the National Organization Commission, CP, USA.

Included in these documents was a slip of paper bearing the following notations:

"Albuquerque	4
Taos	4
Silver City	9
El Paso	3
Utah - about	25
Montana - about	20
Region	65
Colo.	65
	130"

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-63) (R.)
(1 - 100-3-68) (CP, USA Membership)
- 2 - Albuquerque (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA Membership)
- 2 - Denver (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA Membership)
- 2 - El Paso (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA Membership)
- 2 - Salt Lake City (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA Membership)
- 1 - NY (100-80638) (CP, USA Membership)
- 1 - NY (100-56579) (PHILIP BART)
- 1 - NY (100-74560)

RAD:vad
(14)

JMK

100-80638-1054
JMC

LETTER TO DIRECTOR
NY 100-74560

There was no other data on this slip of paper but these figures are apparently membership figures for the areas named, since this slip was attached to a statement of the dues-breakdown for the Colorado District which is set out below.

Attached to this dues-breakdown was a two page, handwritten, unsigned letter of explanation. This is set out following the dues-breakdown.

" - 1 -

"Colorado Feb. 18, 1956

<u>"1954</u>	<u>November</u>	<u>July 1955</u>
	1 @ 3.00 → 3.00	1 @ .15 - .15
	<u>December</u>	3 @ .50 1.50
	1 @ 3.00 → 3.00	2 @ 1.25 2.50
		4.15
<u>"1955</u>	<u>January</u>	<u>August</u>
	1 @ .15 .15	1 @ .15 .15
	1 @ .50 .50	3 @ .50 1.50
		4 @ 1.25 5.00
		6.65
<u>" February</u>		<u>Sept</u>
	1 @ .15 .15	3 @ .15 .45
	1 @ .50 .50	5 @ .50 2.50
		6 @ 1.25 7.50
		1 @ 2.50 2.50
		12.95
<u>" March</u>		<u>Oct</u>
	1 @ .15 .15	5 @ .15 .75
	1 @ .50 .50	6 @ .50 3.00
	1 @ 1.25 1.25	9 @ 1.25 11.25
		2 @ 2.50 5.00
		1 @ 10.00 10.00
		30.00

- 2 -

LETTER TO DIRECTOR
FY 100-74560

"April

1 @ .15	.15	6 @ .15	.90
1 @ .50	.50	15 @ .50	7.50
2 @ 1.25	2.50	9 @ 1.25	11.25
1 @ 3.00	3.00	4 @ 2.50	10.00
	<u>6.15</u>	2 @ 3.00	6.00
		3 @ 10.00	<u>30.00</u>
			<u>65.65</u>

"May

1 @ .15	.15	3 @ .15	.45
1 @ .50	.50	9 @ .50	4.50
2 @ 1.25	2.50	3 @ 1.25	3.75
1 @ 3.00	3.00	3 @ 2.50	7.50
	<u>6.15</u>	2 @ 3.00	6.00
		2 @ 10.00	<u>20.00</u>
			<u>42.20</u>

"1955 Assessments

2 @ .15	→	.30
8 @ .50		4.00
3 @ 1.25		3.75
3 @ 2.50		6.00
2 @ 3.00		<u>20.00</u>
		<u>41.55</u>

Dues total	→	190.25
Less 50%	→	<u>95.12</u>
Balance	→	95.13
		41.55
Assessments	→	136.68

"According to enclosed dues report, there is \$136.68 coming to you.

"However, on November 14, when you were in need of money, we gave you \$90.00 towards dues payments without at that time breaking down exactly what had come in to us.

LETTER TO DIRECTOR
NY 100-74560

"On November 29, we gave you a breakdown, and the dues amounted to only \$14.63. As a result, you were then \$15.37 ahead of what we had received - in other words we had that much credit with you.

"So instead of \$136.68 - we owe you \$136.68 minus \$15.37, → \$121.31.

"But - the treasurer made a mistake & allotted some dues money for local work and is \$28.06 short on this report.

"I'm sorry this has happened & I've taken steps so that this kind of thing will not happen again.

"In addition, I've deducted money for car insurance and your dues. Here is a summary of the whole transaction:

"Coming to you on enclosed report →	136.68
"Less surplus given you on November 14 →	<u>15.37</u>
"Less car insurance →	<u>42.80</u>
	<u>78.51</u>
	<u>2.00</u>
	<u>76.51</u>
"Enclosed →	<u>48.45</u>
" <u>We owe you</u> →	<u>28.06</u> "

Extreme care should be used in the dissemination of this information in order not to compromise the informant.

The original negatives of these photographs are located in exhibit section of 100-56579.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-17)

DATE: 5-2-56

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-8830)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
DISTRICT #9
DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF
THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* made available on April 16, 1956, a copy of a five page mimeographed letter dated April 12, 1956, and addressed to [redacted]

[redacted] Minneapolis "Morning Tribune" Minneapolis Minnesota. This letter is signed by [redacted]
[redacted], Minneapolis 11, Minnesota. One photostatic copy of this letter is being enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the Minneapolis Office. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-8830-1A2.

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The letter is a protest to the "Minneapolis Tribune" because that paper had printed [redacted] name "among those 'fingered' as Communists or Communist sympathizers before the

3 - Bureau (Encl. 1)(REGISTERED)
1 - 100-3-68 (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
① - New York (REGISTERED)

① - 100- CP-MEMBERSHIP

11 - Minneapolis (Encl. 1)(REGISTERED)

1 - 100- CP, DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES

1 - 100- CP, FUNDS

1 - 100- CP, MEMBERSHIP

1 - 100- CP, SECURITY MEASURES

1 - 100- AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

1 - 100-367 [redacted]

1 - 100- [redacted]

1 - 100-3238 [redacted]

1 - 100-1973 [redacted]

1 - 100- [redacted]

1 - 100- [redacted]

3 - Chicago

1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)

1 - A)134-46

100-80638-1055

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 4 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Watson J. V. Watson J. V. Watson J. V.
12-14

jeck/jen
(18)

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA
DISTRICT #9
DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Subversive Activities Control Board". (Believed to be a reference to a hearing on the American Peace Crusade.) It states that "The Tribune is doing incalculable but tangible harm to civil rights in Minnesota." The letter quotes from a speech by democratic presidential candidate ADLAI STEVENSON at the University of Minnesota. The letter also states that "you should be aware that the City of Minneapolis is infested with scores of agents of the FBI, who spend their time attempting to intimidate employers to fire anybody and everybody whose name is in their vast files."

The letter also states in part "The mania for 'names' displayed by Senator McCarthy in his 'witch-hunts' and by all the informers who are coached by the FBI has a purpose. It is to create an atmosphere of fear and hysteria in which no one dares to think or speak independently for worrying, 'Am I next?' That is a denial of civil liberties."

The rest of the letter is an attack on FBI informers as is evidenced by the last paragraph which states:

"I am plainly and simply urging the restoration of our traditional civil liberties and the rules of elementary decency in public life. I am urging that the professional informer and the enforcement of political orthodoxy by the FBI be branded un-American. I am hoping that to some extent the power of the press might be used to curb, instead of to incite heresy hunting. In the last analysis, however, I am confident that the democratic spirit of the American people will prevail, and that the organized citizens of Minnesota will help bring that about."

CG 5824-S* advised on April 16, 1956, that this letter was being discussed and also that it was being placed in envelopes for mailing at the residence of [redacted] in Minneapolis on Friday evening, April 13, 1956. The discussion concerned the possibility of conveying the essence of this letter to various public figures in the Minneapolis area.

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Present at the residence of [redacted] on this occasion were the following:

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA
DISTRICT #9
DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

MORRIS CHILDS, Co-ordinator of Midwestern CP Districts
[redacted] and his wife
MARTIN MACKIE and his wife
[redacted]

A woman described as follows:

Age: Mid 30s
Hair: Dark brown
Height: 5' 6"
Eyes: Dark
Weight: 150

Does not wear glasses and is probably
a well known Communist in the Minneapolis
area.

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CG 5824-S* also advised that [redacted] made the statement
that the current registration in the Minnesota CP District is 270
members but that it was expected that when some members who reside
in isolated areas are contacted the registered CP membership in
this district will approach 300.

[redacted] stated that the Minnesota District at this time did
not have any funds to be transmitted to the national office of the
CP and that the Minnesota CP District was using grocery receipts
in order to record payments of Party dues. CG 5824-S* also advised
that from statements made by [redacted] one of the women present at
[redacted] residence on Friday evening, April 13, 1956, maintains the
finance records for the Minnesota CP District.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)

DATE: 4/26/56

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-11067)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
 DISTRICT #2
 ALBANY DIVISION
 NEGRO QUESTION
 IS-C

Activity:

New York State Negro Commission Meeting.

Location:

Room 111, 124 West 124th Street, New York City.

CC: 2 - Bureau (100-3-75)RM
 1 - New York (100-80640) (NEGRO QUESTION)RM
 1 - New York (100-18677) [REDACTED] (12-16)RM
 1 - New York (100-62509) (DOXEY WILKERSON) (7-2)RM
 1 - New York (100-WOMEN MATTERS) RM
 1 - New York (100-9364) (JAMES FORD) (7-5)RM
 1 - New York (100-92208) [REDACTED] (12-13)RM
 1 - New York (100-7629) (NAACP)RM
 1 - New York (100-9308) [REDACTED] (12-16)RM
 1 - New York (100-80638) (MEMBERSHIP) RM
 1 - New York (100-PTA) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-BEN DAVIS) RM
 1 - New York (100-JAMES JACKSON DEFENSE FUND)
 1 - New York (100-CLAUDIA JONES) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB. ALAN)RM
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB. PEARL) RM
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB. MILLIE) RM
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB. LOUISE) RM
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB. JEAN) RM
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB. ELSIE) RM
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB. BIG BOB) RM
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB. LITTLE BOB) RM
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB. TED) RM
 1 - New York (100-UNSUB., FEMALE, Attendant at NYS
 NEGRO COMMISSION MEETING, APRIL 21, 1956) RM
 1 - Albany (100-11067)
 1 - Albany (100-15478) (PTA)
 1 - Albany (100-9085) (NAACP)
 1 - Albany [REDACTED]

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 b7D

 REM:bmc
 (29)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 2 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

106-80636-1056

AL 100-11067

Date:

April 21, 1956.

Informant Reporting:

[redacted] on April 23, 1956.

Reporting To:

SA ROBERT E. MARGISON

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b7D

Informant's Notes Located:

[redacted]

The informant reported that this was the second Commission meeting at this location. He said that not all of the following individuals belonged to the Negro Commission but that some of them had attended to present particular reports and others had attended because they were interested in hearing the particular reports.

He identified the following attendants:

[redacted]

DOXEY WILKERSON

JIM FORD

[redacted] (previously identified by SI by photograph as [redacted]. She is the daughter of [redacted] the first [redacted] to have his [redacted] during World War II. His [redacted] was taken away from him for security reasons and he is presently trying to get it back.)

BEN DAVIS - A white man introduced to the SI by this name by [redacted]

[redacted] - Believed to be the husband of [redacted] 6' 1", thin build, 170 pounds, sharp features, mustache, glasses, middle 30's, straight brown hair; could pass for Negro or white, speaks with slight accent, could be Spanish or Puerto Rican.

AL 100-11067

[redacted] - Negress, 5' 11", light brown skin, long hair under knit cap, glasses, medium build, 170 pounds, broad shoulders, 30 years old, wearing wedding ring, came with ALAN and knew he had \$5.00 change in his wallet - believed to be his wife.

[redacted] - Negress, dark complexion, stocky build, 30 to 32 years old, married, lives in Harlem, has a son, believed to be a member of a furniture union.

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[redacted] - last name believed to be similar to [redacted]
may reside [redacted] (name and address from memory after the meeting), Negress, fat, 5' 7", real short hair, about 32, believed to be married, announced a supper on Saturday believed to be held on April 28 or May 5 at her apartment, proceeds for the JAMES JACKSON Defense Fund.

[redacted] - a real small Jewish girl, less than 5', white, early 30's, glasses, medium build, wearing a wedding ring, an educated speaker and a good talker, presented a report on the PTA, from Brooklyn.

[redacted] - a white Jewish girl, 5' 1", on the plump side, brown hair and bangs, 25-26, assisted JEAN on the PTA report, from Brooklyn.

[redacted] - 6', early 50's, gray hair, Negro, glasses, 180 pounds, medium build, must operate on state level or higher in the Communist Party.

[redacted] - 5', 130-135, Negro, light brown skin, 28 years, mustache, on the slight side, knew [redacted] and PEARL.

[redacted] - Negro, in his 50's, 5' 5", 155 pounds, medium build, mustache, mixed gray hair, a comment was made that he "had just gotten back."

A white female about 30, 5' 6", 150-155 pounds, plump build, from the Bronx, apparently in the PTA. She attended to hear the PTA report and left immediately thereafter.

The meeting lasted from 12:30 p.m. to 5:05 p.m. TED was elected Chairman and announced the agenda as follows:

(1) PTA Report

AL 100-11067

(2) Report from Subcommittee on Negro Women

(3) A report on election developments by [redacted]

[redacted] did not make an appearance and only the first two reports were presented.

[redacted] and [redacted] from Brooklyn had attended to present a report on the PTA. [redacted] presented the report and [redacted] made the summarization. [redacted] stated the Negro children in Brooklyn were three to four years behind the white children in some subjects and were being guided into vocational schools by their advisors.

She stated that there are segregated Negro schools in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section as a result of "phony zoning." The education given the Negro children in these schools is different according to the I.Q.'s. The children with low I.Q.'s are put in special classes and not helped to advance. The Negro schools are intentionally overcrowded while the white schools have low quotas for the size of the classes. The Negroes are graduated early and guided into vocational schools. The Board of Education has lowered the standards of the Negro student and has used trickery to get the schools segregated by their phony zoning regulations and has maintained low academic standards for the Negro children.

The PTA's in Brooklyn are becoming part of the community movement. Negro and white parents are uniting to fight for better schools, higher standards and integration of Negroes and whites. White PTA's are becoming concerned over the desegregation and are encouraging free discussions to end segregation and give better education to the Negro children. The white PTA's are eager to hear Negro leaders and are inviting them to their PTA meetings as speakers. The whites are assisting in the drive for Negro teachers in Brooklyn and are encouraging the Negroes to join local girl scout troops. The teachers that are allotted to the Negro schools are mostly substitutes and part-time teachers. The Board of Education won't send good teachers to the Negro schools. The Brooklyn NAACP is opening workshops on education and is doing a good job in the field. The Board of Education is to be attacked by the entire city of

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New York and not just the Brooklyn borough in order to improve Negro education. [redacted] advocates that the Communist Party state wide discuss what kind of education "we" want for our children.

[redacted] came in at this point and discussed the United Parents Association as being the largest parents' group in the New York area, one with a good program and which exerts influence city wide and state wide and is an organization to which most PTA's belong. [redacted] states that the United Parents Association supports Federal aid to schools and opposes the POWELL Amendment, fearing that it will defeat the Federal Aid Bill.

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She publicized a PEA Report, which the informant could not identify, which is sold for 25¢ a copy. This group is composed of parents, the Board of Education, and civic leaders and pertains to educational methods in New York City. It attacks "permissive zoning" whereby the principals of local schools are permitted to segregate Negro and white students in their particular schools.---

[redacted] and [redacted] suggested a city wide caucus by the Communist Party on Negro education to exchange ideas and methods of work in the PTA's to further Negro desegregation. The Party considers the PTA as a logical mass organization in which to work. The Party considers this PTA report excellent and summarizes the Party aim in this field as:

- (1) Eliminate the phony zoning regulations.
- (2) Raise the educational standards for Negro children and Negro schools.
- (3) Eliminate the I.Q. test as being unfair to the Negro student.

The report by [redacted] and [redacted] is to be put in permanent form and made available on a state wide basis. After careful editing it will appear in the Party press.

[redacted] commented on the report, attacking the I.Q. as unfair to the Negro child and saying that the white educators try to push the Negroes into a vocational school and away from the academic school. She commented that she used to write for the "Daily Worker" and a comment was made about her that she at one time had a leadership position in the New York City Communist Party.

AL 100-11067

[redacted] commented on the report saying that her son had been steered into a special class in a vocational school and that it was only after strong protest by her that she got him accepted into a "good" academic high school. [redacted] resides in Harlem.

[redacted] presented the second item on the Agenda, a report on the Subcommittee on Negro Women. This is a subcommittee of the New York State Negro Commission and the informant believed [redacted] to be the Chairman of this subcommittee.

[redacted] urged all Negro women to join her subcommittee and become active in the Party work in the masses. She stated that the Negro question is part of all questions which the Party faces, whether it is in the Labor Field, in the Farmers Area or elsewhere among the working class. She advocates a struggle against white chauvinism and left distortion. She stated that a meeting had recently been held of 24 Negro female comrades and that 18 of these individuals had advanced proof to her that they still believed the Communist Party principles and wanted to be active in the Party movement. She wants Negro women active in Party leadership. She stated that since 1950 CLAUDIA JONES was the only Negro female Party leader of importance. She stated that the Party must give guidance to Negro women in seeking and obtaining employment. She challenged a decision which had been reached in the past to disband the Sojourners Organization. She asked why and how this decision had been made without questioning the Negro female comrades on the effectiveness of its role. The informant has the impression that the Organization was a Party group which had been disbanded.

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[redacted] criticized an individual who had been a Party leader in her area as one who made the Negro women feel inferior and not wanted by the Party and unsure of themselves. This person was abusive and a white chauvinist. He made the Negro female comrades feel that they had no contribution to make to the Party. PEARL demanded that the role of the Negro women in the Communist Party be defined. She claimed the Communist Party ignored women and their demands and listed the reason of male supremacy as the underlying cause. She noted that 2/3 of the Negro membership in the United States were women. She pointed out the loss of Party membership of Negroes, noting that the Party membership in Harlem in 1948 was 1300 and in 1956 it had dropped to 200. She demanded

AL 100-11067

a Negro leadership school for women.

[redacted] in commenting on her report agreed that prior to 1950 the Party had Negro women in leadership positions in the city, county and state of New York. He accepted her comment that CLAUDIA JONES was the only Negro female leader of importance since 1950 as being accurate. [redacted] stated that there would be a leadership school held for Negro women. [redacted] stated that the Negro question was in the process of being discussed on the national level and recommended that the Negro Commission wait for this report before discussing [redacted] report in detail.

[redacted] said that she had helped in organizing this meeting of 24 Negro female comrades. She stated that 18 of them wanted to become active in the Party while the other 6 were willing to drop out. She stated that she had gone from home to home soliciting attendance at this meeting of 24 and that she had to spend an hour or two with some of the Negro women persuading them to attend. She stated that the fact that these people had lost interest and that it was difficult to get them to attend was a Party responsibility and it was encouraging to see that some of them were still concerned about the Party.

[redacted] stated that the Party had some misgivings about planning this group of 24 to meet. He identified these Negro women as from around Harlem. He stated that the state was satisfied that the meeting had turned out all right and was glad that the meeting had been held and that positive results would come from the meeting. [redacted] was consulted on the decision as to whether or not there would be this meeting of 24.

[redacted] stated that the women were concerned about their neglect by the Party. She stated that the women were willing to accept assignments and wanted Party work and she blamed male supremacy for the fact that the women were being ignored.

[redacted] joined in the criticism of the Party for ignoring the women. She stated that the Party should have something to contribute to the solution of this problem and she criticized the Party organizers in her area for being dictators comparable to STALIN.

[redacted] stated that CLAUDIA JONES needs some material

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AL 100-11067

to keep her up-to-date. The Party is evidently to start a campaign to return CLAUDIA JONES from her deportation.

JAMES FORD presented his usual rambling disjointed comments. He recommended that the report on the subcommittee be written up and distributed throughout the state. He stressed the importance of the women question to the Party and rambled off on the Montgomery, Alabama situation. He mentioned a letter of criticism he had written to HOWARD FAST on the [redacted] article, and criticized an unsatisfactory answer he had received from FAST and recommended that the Commission write to FAST. No one appeared quite sure of what FORD was talking about.

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[redacted] who had little to say during the meeting but seemed interested in the reports, opposed a 5 o'clock adjournment.

DOXEY and [redacted] discussed the Jamaica Branch of the NAACP after the meeting. The Party feels that its comrades in the NAACP should attempt to secure positions on the Membership, the Labor and Industry or the Education committees of the NAACP.

May 26, 1956, was announced for the next Negro Commission meeting.

LEADS FOR NEW YORK:

New York should attempt to discreetly identify the individuals at the meeting unknown to the informant and furnish photographs of likely suspects to Albany so that positive identification can be made.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

FROM : RICHARD H. BLASSER, SA

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5/3/56

Source: [redacted]

Reliability:

[redacted]
This informant has furnished reliable information in the past, and his identity must be concealed by the use of a T symbol.

Description of Activity: BELL CP Section Membership report, dated 4/17/56.

Date Received: 4/18/56

Location: 100-80638 Exhibit # 1B104

Re my airtel to the Bureau, dated 4/20/56.

[redacted] on 4/18/56, orally advised SA RICHARD H. BLASSER on the following:

Informant, on 4/18/56, furnished to SA BLASSER a membership report for the Bell CP Section of Region Three, also referred to as Area Three, Queens County CP. The report was prepared and given to the informant by [redacted] Bell CP Section Financial and Membership Director, and reflects the following information:

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b7D"MEMBERSHIP REPORT"

"Date: 4/17/56"

"Section: Bell"

"1. Starting membership as of 9/1/55" 87

- 1 - [redacted] (P & C) (#7-4)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C41 (QUEENS COUNTY CP) (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1845 (BELL CP SECTION) (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-125745 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100- ("FLORENCE", aka: "Frances" LNU, Queens County Assistant Membership Director; per [redacted] 4/24/56) (#20-13)

RHB:dxo

(6)

100-80638-1057

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 11 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. D. Weller
J. D. Weller
#19

MEMO
NY 100-80638

5/3/56

"2. How many of the above starting membership were registered to date 75

"3. How many recruits since 9/1/55 0

a} " " re-registered since 9/1/55 0
b} " " pick-ups since 9/1/55 2

"4. How many Transfers-in did you get since 9/1/55 3

a} " " " came in registered 3
b} " " " not registered 0
c} " " " did you register since 9/1/55 0

"5. How many Transfer-out since 9/1/55 10 + 1 unreg.

"6. Present membership (2 plus 3 plus 4 minus 5) 70-1 death=
75 - 2 = 3 - 10 = 69

"7. How many of (1) above were drops since 9/1/55 2

"8. How many of (1) above can still be registered? no 5

"9. How many of (4b) above can you register

"10. By what date will this be done? 5/1 I hope

According to the informant, each section membership and financial director in Area 3 will be required to execute one of these forms.

Informant also advised that "FLORENCE", aka: "Frances" LNU, Assistant Queens County Membership Director, prepared the membership report forms and will eventually receive them back when they are completed.

MEMO
NY 100-80638

5/3/56

A photostat of the Bell CP Section Membership report was made and the original was returned to the informant.

If any of the foregoing information is set forth in a report or disseminated outside of the Bureau, it must be paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603) DATE: 5/6/56
FROM: JOSEPH V. WATERS, SA, #12-14
SUBJECT: CP USA - DISTRICT #2
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Information obtained concerning activities of the CP USA -
District #2, also known as the New York State CP, in the various files
indicated by the title of the files for which copies of this memorandum
are designated, should be placed in those files.

- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP USA) #19
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - COLONIAL MATTERS)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - CULTURAL ACTIVITIES)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION
 ISSUES)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - EDUCATION)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - FACTIONALISM)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - FARMERS' MATTERS)
1 - 100-128314 (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - FUNDS)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
1 - 100-128817 (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - MEMBERSHIP)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - NATIONAL GROUPS)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - NEGRO QUESTION)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - RELIGION)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - SECURITY MEASURES)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - UNITED NATIONS)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - VETERANS MATTERS)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - WOMEN MATTERS)
1 - 100- (CP USA - DISTRICT #2 - YOUTH MATTERS)

(Copies continued on next page)

JVV:EMD
(48)

100-80638-1058

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 9 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	
J. Waters J.W.	
#19	

MEMO
NY 100-26603

COPIES CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

- 1 - 100-87212 (CP USA - COLONIAL MATTERS)
- 1 - 100-88297 (CP USA - CULTURAL ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - 100-89691 (CP USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
- 1 - 100-80633 (CP USA - EDUCATION)
- 1 - 100-87211 (CP USA - FACTIONALISM)
- 1 - 100-80634 (CP USA - FARMERS' MATTERS)
- 1 - 100-74560 (CP USA - FUNDS)
- 1 - 100-86624 (CP USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- 1 - 100-80636 (CP USA - LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
- ① - 100-80638 (CP USA - MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100-54651 (CP USA - NATIONAL GROUPS)
- 1 - 100-80640 (CP USA - NEGRO QUESTION)
- 1 - 100-80641 (CP USA - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - 100-81675 (CP USA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
- 1 - 100-79717 (CP USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - 100-80864 (CP USA - RELIGION)
- 1 - 100-81338 (CP USA - SECURITY MEASURES)
- 1 - 100-89590 (CP USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - 100-96985 (CP USA - UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS)
- 1 - 100-88123 (CP USA - UNITED NATIONS)
- 1 - 100-79498 (CP USA - VETERANS MATTERS)
- 1 - 100-80643 (CP USA - WOMEN MATTERS)
- 1 - 100-80644 (CP USA - YOUTH MATTERS)

MEMO
NY 100-26603

Those files should reflect activity engaged in by the CP USA - DISTRICT #2 as distinguished from activity of the CP USA, the national organization.

Reference may be made to the Manual of Instructions, Section #87-C as definition for the type of information to be considered for inclusion in these files. The same Section of the Manual also directs that information obtained is to be included under appropriate headings in the reports submitted quarterly on the CP USA - DISTRICT #2 by the NYO.

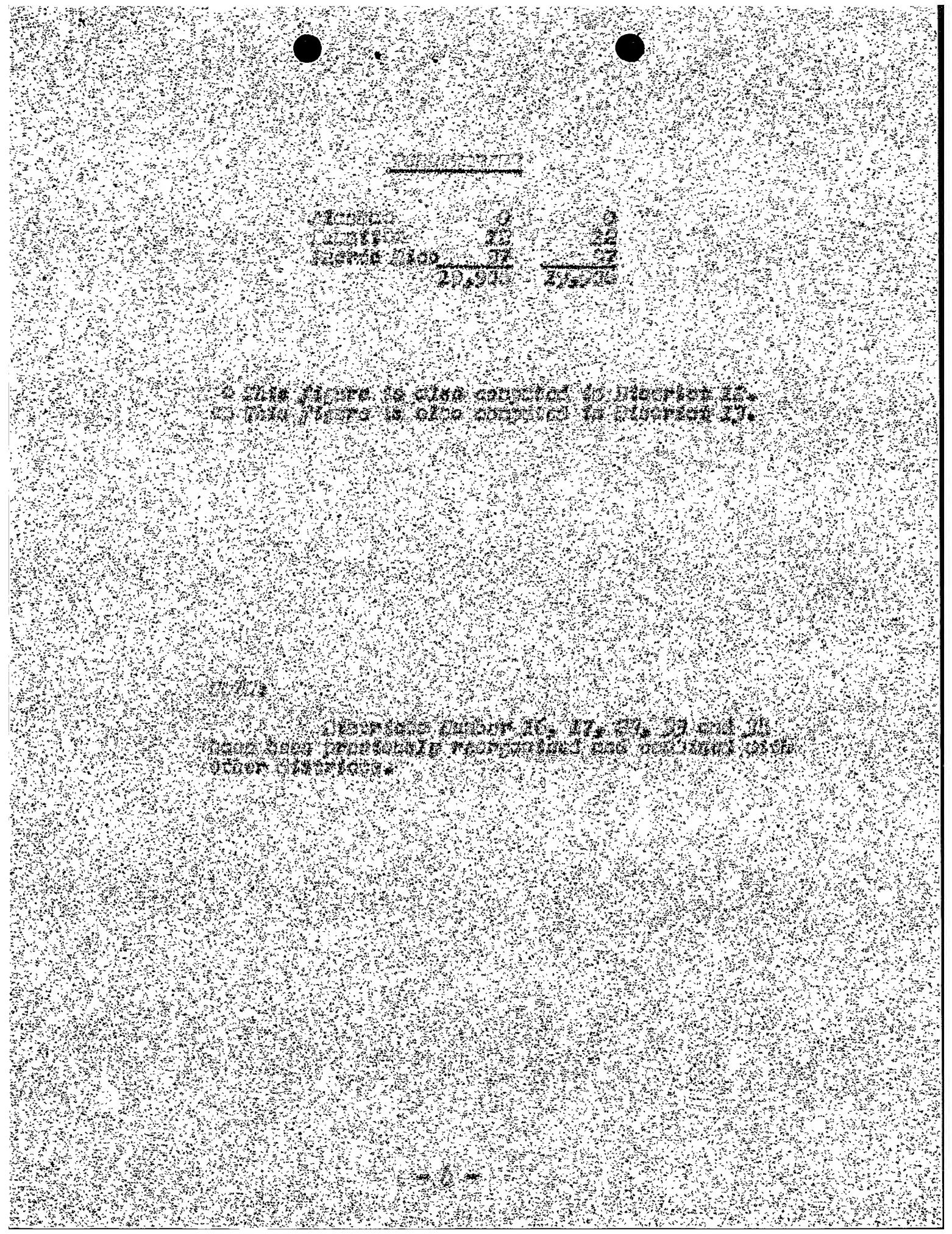
A copy of this memorandum is also being placed in the file on the CP USA, the national organization, as well as the files covering activity, in various fields, of the national organization in order that the information concerning the two different organizations may be appropriately separated.

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JRC-806-58-1039

DESCRIPTION	ITEM	QTY	UNIT	DESCRIPTION	ITEM	QTY	UNIT
DESCRIPTION 1	ITEM 1	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 2	ITEM 2	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 2	ITEM 2	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 3	ITEM 3	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 3	ITEM 3	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 4	ITEM 4	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 4	ITEM 4	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 5	ITEM 5	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 5	ITEM 5	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 6	ITEM 6	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 6	ITEM 6	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 7	ITEM 7	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 7	ITEM 7	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 8	ITEM 8	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 8	ITEM 8	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 9	ITEM 9	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 9	ITEM 9	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 10	ITEM 10	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 10	ITEM 10	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 11	ITEM 11	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 11	ITEM 11	12	PC	DESCRIPTION 12	ITEM 12	12	PC
DESCRIPTION 12	ITEM 12	12	PC				

THE COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA APPROVED AND THE GOVERNOR
SIGNED THE BUDGET BILL FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1933-34 ON JUNE 10,
1933.



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CONFIDENTIAL

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: May 3, 1956

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DIV. 1
 DIV. 2
 DIV. 3
 DIV. 4
 SEC. 2
 SEC. 3
 SEC. 4
 SEC. 5
 SEC. 6
 SEC. 7
 SEC. 8
 SEC. 9
 SEC. 10
 SEC. 11
 SEC. 12
 SEC. 13
 SEC. 14
 SEC. 15
 SEC. 16
 SEC. 17
 SEC. 18
 SEC. 19
 SEC. 20

JAN 12-14

There are being furnished herewith two copies of a chart showing the estimated Communist Party membership as of March 31, 1956, by states and territories, by field divisions and Communist Party districts, as well as comparative estimated membership figures by field divisions for the past four quarterly periods.

This data is being furnished for the information of the New York Office and should not be incorporated in any reports prepared by the New York Office.

Enclosures (2)

*see per 1059
for enclo.*

100-80638-1060

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 19 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*cc: Bennett
J. F. WATERS
D. RYAN*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

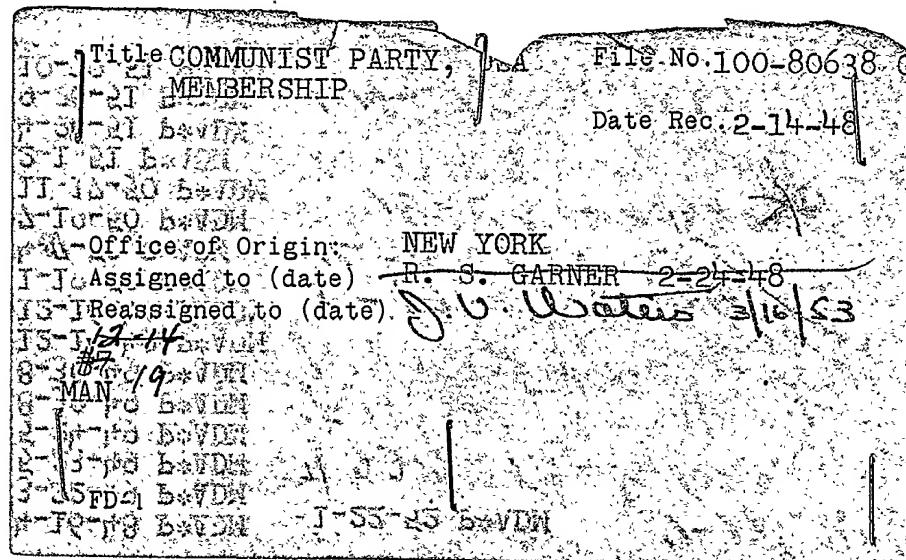
DATE: 5-11-56

FROM : [REDACTED] A/C#

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SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA., MEMBERSHIP

NEW ASSIGNMENT CARD PREPARED SHOWING LAST ASSIGNMENT
 AND LAST POSTING..OLD CARD ATTACHED HERETO.



100-80638

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 11 1956	
FBI — NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * * * * * U N I T E D S T A T E S G O V E R N M E N T

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) DATE: 5-9-56
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18952)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, exhibited on April 28, 1956, a note containing the following information:

"To Kentucky, via Indiana thru Chicago"

This note was signed as follows:

"F.L. Southern Reg. Com."

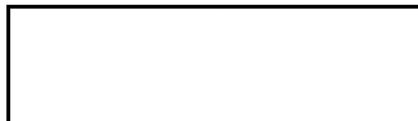
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SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAY 11 1956
FBI - NEW YORK

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP

Attached to this note was an envelope addressed as follows:



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Inside this envelope was the following letter:

"3658 Townes Ave.
Memphis 12, Tenn.

"Dear Estelle and Jack

"This will introduce a friend of yours, Ann.

"As ever,

"M. M. & M."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) DATE: 5/10/56

FROM : RICHARD H. BLASSER, SA

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Source: [redacted]

Reliability:

This informant has furnished reliable information in the past and his identity must be concealed by the use of a T symbol.

Description of Activity:

Details of an Area #3
Financial Station held on
4/10/56.

Received: 4/18/56

Location: Instant memo

- 1 - [redacted] (#7-4)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1845 (BELL SECTION) (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-65505 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-71535 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1844 (AREA #3) (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-25864 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-125745 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-82714 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-114546 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1445 (MASPETH SECTION) (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-108503 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-110940 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-108771 [redacted] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (UNSUB "FLORENCE, aka: "Frances" LNU,
Assistant Queens County Membership
Director; per [redacted] 4/18/56) (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C358 (JAMAICA SECTION) (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-CL846 (EAST QUEENS SECTION) (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1759 (ROCKAWAY SECTION) (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-107111 (COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN SOBELL
CASE) (#6)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C41 (QUEENS CP SECTION) (#20-13)

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RHB
RHB:dxo

(20)

100-80638-1063

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 12 1956	

J.V. Natale
#19

MEMO
NY 100-80638

[redacted] on 4/18/56, orally advised SA RICHARD H. BLASSER of the following:

A special CP meeting of Section Membership and Financial directors of Area #3 of the Queens County CP, as well as an Area #3 CP Financial station was held on 4/10/56, at the home of [redacted] Jamaica, Long Island. Informant identified the following individuals as being present:

[redacted] Organizational [redacted] of the QUEens County CP.

[redacted] informant does not know [redacted] present position in the Queens County CP, and described him as a mysterious person.

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[redacted] [redacted] Jamaica CP Financial and Membership

Membership [redacted] Bell CP Section Financial and

[redacted] [redacted] East Queens Section Financial

and Financial [redacted] Rockaway CP Section Membership

Informant advised that [redacted] Maspeth CP Section Membership Director, was to bring the names of two individuals who, according to [redacted] were "linked up in the ROSENBERG case and are to remain inactive."

Informant advised that he previously challenged [redacted] on her statement and told her to bring the names of these two individuals to this meeting in order that the question of their remaining inactive might be discussed with [redacted]. Informant advised, however, that [redacted] did not appear for this meeting.

The Bureau has been advised of the remarks of [redacted] by airtel.

MEMO
NY 100-80638

At this meeting, membership report forms were distributed by [REDACTED]. Each section financial and membership director will be required to execute one of these forms and return them to "FLORENCE, aka: "Frances" LNU, Queens County CP, Assistant Membership Director, who prepared the forms.

Informant advised that although "FLORENCE", Aka: "Frances", LNU, was not present for this meeting, she had previously left the membership forms at the home of [REDACTED]

The content of the membership report form has been disseminated to pertinent files of the NYO by separate memo.

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Informant advised that [REDACTED] is going to give up her position as Membership and Financial Director of the Maspeth Section. [REDACTED] and her husband, [REDACTED] plan to move into the home of the father of [REDACTED] in the Carnarsie Section of Brooklyn, New York. [REDACTED] mother recently died.

Informant advised that the Queens County CP expects to secure [REDACTED] as the Membership and Financial Director of the Maspeth CP Section.

If any of the foregoing information is set forth in the details of a report, or disseminated outside of the Bureau, it must be paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

May 11, 1956

SAC, CHICAGO (100-18952)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA

DISTRICT NUMBER 8

MEMBERSHIP

IS - C

[redacted] who has provided reliable information in the past, on April 17, 1956, provided photographs of documents then in the possession of [redacted]

CG 5824-S orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on March 11, 1956, that [redacted] is the Assistant to the Executive Secretary of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party (CP) District.

If any of this information is included in reports or otherwise disseminated it should be carefully paraphrased to conceal the identity of the source.

The photograph mentioned in this letter will be maintained in Chicago File [redacted]

This source provided a photograph of a typewritten document which reads as follows:

"TO ALL DISTRICTS: In re transfers December 1, 1955

"Dear comrads:

"Present slipshod practices in handling transfers continue to create security problems and unnecessary delays in contacting transfers.

2 - Bureau (Registered Mail)

① - New York (100- [redacted]) (COMMUNIST PARTY-USA, MEMBERSHIP) (Reg.)

4 - Chicago

1 - [redacted]

1 - (100-2749) [redacted]

1 - (100- [redacted])

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100-80630-1064

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 14 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Walter J. Waters R/W
J.W. Waters R/W
FBI
FBI

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA

Transfers received by the National Office are frequently illegible, written on odd pieces of paper, and contain inadequate information as to standing, characterization and method of contacting the person to be transferred. It is also apparent that transfers from clubs and sections are merely transmitted by Districts without study of the transfer information as to its adequacy as well as political approval by the higher committee. The National Office has been placed in the difficult position of having to decide to send through inadequate material in order to avoid extreme delays.

"Beginning with January 1st, the National Office will return improperly prepared transfers to the district of origin which must assume responsibility for further delay.

"Until a new national transfer system is evolved, districts should prepare their own uniform system. Transfers should be made on a half-sheet of paper, preferably typed: they must contain the following information: (1) Name and address of person (s) to be transferred; (2) dues standing; (3) a clear political characterization as to activity and role, level of development, length of time in, recommendation for assignment, etc.; (4) a clear explanation of how the person who makes the contact is to be recognized.

"Many members have been lost because of inadequate handling of points (3) and (4), and frequently questions are raised about the person being transferred by the district of origin without any recommendation from the district. Any doubts must be resolved in the district of origin, and all districts will be held to account for persons transferred by them.

"Comradely yours,

"National Org. Comm."

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

May 15, 1956

SAC, LOUISVILLE (100-213)

CP, USA

MEMBERSHIP

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re: Chicago letter May 9, 1956.

[redacted] mentioned in relet is SI subject [redacted]
[redacted] Louisville origin, Bufile 100-99518. On February 7,
1956, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the
past, advised that [redacted] was as of that date,
a member of CP Club 237, Memphis, Tennessee. On the same
date, [redacted] advised that [redacted] IS-C, Bufile 100-404193, was also a member of the same
Memphis CP club at that time, Louisville origin.

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[redacted] is possibly identical with [redacted] IS-C (Bufile
100-368367) concerning whom all offices receiving copies of
this letter have information.

The Chicago Division, in its recontacts with informant, will
attempt to develop any further information concerning this
matter.

CLP/JEM
(10)

- 1 - Indianapolis (RM)
- 2 - Memphis (RM)
- ① - New York (RM)
- ② - Chicago (RM)
- 1 - 100-4106
- 1 - 100-4107

REGISTERED MAIL

100-80638-1065

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 18 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Walter O. Waters J.W.
1119

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 5-9-56

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 30, 1956, that he had learned from PHIL BART that BART is demanding a hearing before the National Board of the Communist Party - USA and that BART will ask to be relieved of his present assignment as a member of the National Organization Commission of the Communist Party. BART stated that he thinks that his present assignment is not important enough for his capabilities, and that he should be placed in charge of a leading Communist Party District. BART also stated that he has turned over his

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-3-68)(CP - USA, Membership)
- 11 - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-80641)(CP - USA, Organization)(#19)
 - (1 - 100-80638)(CP - USA, Membership)(#19)
 - (1 - 100-74560)(CP - USA, Funds)(#19)
 - (1 - 100-81338)(CP - USA, Security Measures)(#19)
 - (1 - 100-56579)(PHIL BART)(#12-14)
 - (1 - 100-23825)(BEN DAVIS)(#19)
 - (1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19)
 - (1 - 100-89816)(FRED FINE)(#19)
 - (1 - 100-82430)(IRVING HERMAN)
 - (1 - 100-19679)(ISADORE WOFSY)
 - (1 - 134-91)(NY 694-S*)(#6)(Info)
- 3 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46)
 - (1 - 100-18952)(CP - USA, Membership)

JEK:kw
(17)

100-80638-1066

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 11 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signature over stamp]

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION

duties with regard to the handling of Party funds and Party financial records for the National Office to ISADORE WOFSY.

CG 5824-S* further advised on May 3, 1956, that BART stated on May 2, 1956, that he had sent a letter to the National Board demanding a hearing before the Board. BART stated that he had learned that his present position as Assistant National Organizational Secretary had been turned down by many persons, including BEN DAVIS, before it was offered to him. BART stated that he was very busy at the time and did not realize what was happening. He also stated that he has told EUGENE DENNIS and FRED FINE orally that he is tired of being kicked around and that he wants to be placed in charge of a District or of a region. BART stated that he told them in a joking manner that he would even take the Denver District (Rocky Mountain District) Chairmanship. FINE then proposed that BART become the Chairman in Denver and BART immediately rejected this proposal.

CG 5824-S* advised, that in defense of his contentions, BART stated that the National Office was getting nowhere in the matter of organization and funds until he became a part of the National Organization Commission during the summer of 1955. BART then produced a typewritten sheet showing the dues and percentage of dues collected in each District of the Communist Party - USA during the entire year of 1955. CG 5824-S* was unable to make any notes during a brief glance at this document but did note that the Communist Party - USA, according to BART's official report, had 163,411 dues payments during the entire year of 1955. BART's record also reflected that this amount represented a 77% dues collection.

It is to be noted that if 163,411 dues payments represent 77% of all dues which could have been collected by the Party, by dividing 16,341,100 by .77 a figure of 212,222 is obtained. It is, therefore, assumed that if all Party members paid all their dues for each month of the year, there would have been 212,222 dues payments. By dividing this figure by 12 monthly payments, a figure of 17,685 is obtained and this figure would represent the membership in the Communist Party-USA.

CG 5824-S* also learned from BART that the total number of recruits in the Communist Party during the entire year of 1955 was 485.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION

BART also stated that when he returned to New York City from Denver, Colorado, where he had investigated the [redacted] case, he found the National Office in chaos so he stepped forward to take the rap in dealing with the Internal Revenue Service with regard to the tax liens against the Party and the "Daily Worker". BART stated that he has been the goat and that if he cannot get the position he wants from the National Board, he will look for outside employment.

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In continuing the detailing of his gripes against the national leadership, BART stated, "Can you imagine that the national leadership was not going to invite a guy like [redacted] who is in charge of the National Review Commission, to the enlarged meeting of the National Committee." BART further stated that it was not until the last moment that he, BART, was able to convince the national leadership that [redacted] should be invited to this meeting.

Opinion of CG 5824-S*

CG 5824-S* stated that with the current attacks against the cult of the individual, as a result of events occurring at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, practically everyone in the Communist Party - USA resents being "kicked around" by the leadership of the Party. It is also felt that now is the proper time to air any complaints against the leadership. CG 5824-S* is of the opinion that BART may go through with his plan to air his gripes before the National Board, but that if he does he will probably tone them down and will not be as outspoken as he is in private discussions.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) DATE: 5-23-56

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18952)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S* on May 14, 1956, exhibited a sheet of paper which informant had obtained from PHIL BART, member of the National Organization Commission of the Communist Party - USA. This sheet of paper contained the following information:

1956	D	R	1956 Reg.	1955		
				D	D%	R
Minnesota	347	0	250	2736	80	0
Wisconsin	0	0	160	1718	99	6
Indiana	0	0	74	364	37	3
Missouri	35	0	49	781	110	2

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Funds)
- 2 - Kansas City (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Funds)
- 2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Funds)
- 2 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Funds)
- 3 New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
 - (1 - 100-71560) (CP - USA, Funds) (#19)
 - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
- 2 - St. Louis (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Funds)
- 2 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46)

JEK:kw
(17)

100-80638/1067

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 25 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

JW Waters

M. Waters

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP

55 Claimed Registration

Minnesota	284
Wisconsin	145
Indiana	83
Missouri	59

It is believed that "D" stands for dues, and that
"R" means recruits.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) (#19)

FROM : SA JAMES E. REILLY

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

DATE: 5/24/56

Identity of Informant NY 1726-S*

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past

Date 5/11/56

According to NY 1726-S* on 5/11/56, a Mrs. O'HARA contacted [redacted] at CP National Headquarters and said that she had been in to the CP Building about a week previously to see about joining the CP. She told [redacted] that she had not heard anything yet and that no one had been to see her. She said she left her name and address, 318 Haven Avenue, when she was at the CP offices and was told that she would hear from them. [redacted] insisted that it was not possible that she could have been in and have been told what she claimed and Mrs. O'HARA finally hung up saying she had made a mistake.

A check of the New York Telephone Directory and Cross Directory for Manhattan revealed no family named O'HARA with a telephone listing at 318 Haven Avenue.

In the event it becomes necessary to disseminate this information, care should be taken to protect the informant's identity.

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1 - NY 100-128817 (CP, USA DISTRICT TWO MEMBERSHIP) (#12-14)
 1 - NY 100-97807 [redacted] (#12-15)
 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (MRS. (FNU) O'HARA) (#12-16)

JER:MIM

4

100-80638-1068

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

#19

J. H. Mattox

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-128815)
SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT #2
NEGRO QUESTION
IS-C

DATE: 5/28/56

Re Albany letter to Bureau, 4/26/56.

Referenced letter identified nine unknown subjects by first name only, and one white female by description, as having attended a meeting of the NYS Negro Commission on April 21, 1956.

2 - Bureau (100-3-75) (RM)
1 - Albany (100-11067) (Negro Question) (Encs. 14) (RM)
1 - [REDACTED] (RM)
1 - NY (100-79967) (EEN DVOSIN) (19)
1 - NY (100-99369) (ALLAN LAWS) (19)
1 - NY (100-85936) (PEARL LAWS) (19)
1 - NY (100-79025) [REDACTED] (12-16)
1 - NY (100-102357) [REDACTED] (12-16)
1 - NY (100-69058) [REDACTED] (20-11)
1 - NY (100-70727) [REDACTED] (20-11)
1 - NY (100-25840) [REDACTED] (7-5)
1 - NY (100-9369) (TED BASSETT) (19)
1 - NY (100-100237) [REDACTED] (19)
1 - NY (100-) (UNKNOWN SUBJECT) [REDACTED] (7-6)
1 - NY (100-80643) (Women Matters) (12-14)
1 - NY (100-7629) (NAACP) (7-2)
① - NY (100-80638) (membership) 12-14
1 - NY (100-) (PTA) (7-2)
1 - NY (100-128815) (12-14)

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100-80638-1069

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAY 31 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. L. Waterson J.W.

Letter to Director

Re: CP, USA DISTRICT #2
NEGRO QUESTION
IS-C

Unknown subjects, [redacted] are possibly identical to [redacted] and TED BASSETT. Photographs of these subject's appear in the Communist Album and should be exhibited to [redacted] for identification. Also in the Communist Album is a photograph of [redacted] who may be identical to the unknown subject, white, female. Another picture of [redacted] is enclosed to assist in the identification.

Unknown subjects [redacted] and [redacted] are possibly identical to [redacted] [redacted] Photographs of these subjects are enclosed.

Referenced letter reflects that BEN DAVIS, white, male, was introduced to the informant. A photograph of [redacted] wa: Ben Davis, appears in the Communist Album and should be exhibited to the informant for positive identification.

Regarding unknown subject [redacted] the NYO can not make a tentative identification at this time. Enclosed are eight photographs of cloven individuals who entered the meeting place, 124 West 124th St., NYC, on April 21, 1956, which photographs should be exhibited to the informant for the particular purpose of identifying unknown subject [redacted] and any of the other individuals who attended the meeting. If identification of [redacted] is negative, Albany is requested to interrogate the informant for further identifying data.

Results of the contact with [redacted] should be designated for all of the NY files receiving copies of this letter.

May 29, 1956

SAC
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SEC. 20

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

Minneapolis (100-11136)

Director, FBI (100-3-68)

CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS-C; "GINAL"

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised May 28, 1956, that he learned from MARTIN MACKIE, who recently returned from Chicago, that the Communist Party in the Minnesota District will no longer be a membership organization or collect dues as such; that it will be operated on donations received.

The informant did not know whether MACKIE's statement could be construed to apply to CP operations nationally.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, has described MARTIN MACKIE as a member of the three-man Minnesota CP District secretariat.

HOWARD

b7D

- 6 - Bureau (RM)
(100-3-68)
(100-3-63)
- 2 - Chicago (Info.) (RM)
(100-18952) (CP, USA-MEMBERSHIP)
(100-17769) (CP, USA-FUNDS)
- 2 - New York (Info.) (RM)
(100-80638) (CP, USA-MEMBERSHIP)
(100-74560) (CP, USA-FUNDS)
- 5 - Minneapolis
(100-11136)
(100-1878-Sub.F)
(100-1878-Sub.V)
(100-367)

AJS:ags
(15)

100-80638-1070

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 1 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)
SUBJECT: CP, USA-MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

DATE: 6/1/56

JWJ
Re Chicago letter, 5/9/56, containing info furnished by CG 5824-S*, which was in a letter given to the informant.

The "F.L." sending this letter is [redacted]
Regional [redacted] of the CP in the South. The address of [redacted] Memphis 12, Tenn." is that of [redacted] CP functionaries in Tennessee. [redacted] is possibly [redacted] who utilizes the alias [redacted] when in Tennessee on CP business.

Chicago is requested to furnish NY and other Offices, info surrounding the obtaining of these notes and their eventual disposal. Any other pertinent info or observations by the informant should also be furnished.

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b7C

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
- 3 - Chicago (A/134-46) (RM)
- 2 - Indianapolis (RM)
- 2 - Louisville (RM)
- 2 - Memphis (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-51082) [redacted] (19)
- 1 - New York (100-85686) [redacted] (20-11)
- ① - New York (100-80638) [redacted]

HPQ:mjw
(14)
194 myw

100-80638-1071g

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-041) (#20-13) 5/10/56

✓ SA RICHARD H. BLASSER (#7-4)

CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, NY DIVISION
(Queens County CP)
IS - C

Source:

Reliability:

Description of
Activity:

Received:

Location:

[redacted]
This informant has furnished reliable information in the past and his identity must be protected by the use of a T symbol.

Jamaica CP Section, membership report dated 4/6/56.

4/30/56

100-26603-Exhibit # 1B6545

[redacted] on 4/30/56, furnished to SA RICHARD H. BLASSER, a membership [redacted] report for the Jamaica CP Section dated 4/10/56.

Informant advised he received this membership report from [redacted] membership and financial [redacted] of the Jamaica CP Section, Area 3, Queens County CP.

A Photostat of the original Jamaica CP Section membership report was made and the original was returned to the informant.

The Jamaica CP Section membership report reflected the following information:

"MEMBERSHIP REPORT"

Date: 4/10/56

Section: Jamaica

1. Starting membership as of 9/1/55 108

2. How many of the above starting membership were registered to date 99.

1 - NY 100-26603-Ch1 #20-13

1 - NY 100-71535 [redacted] #20-13

1 - [redacted]

1 - NY 100-26603-C358 (Jamaica CP Section) #20-13

1 - NY 100-80638 (Membership) #12-14

1 - NY 100-26603-C1844 (Area 3) #20-13

1 - NY 100- (UNSUB; "Florence" aka "Frances") LNU, Assistant Queens County CP Membership Director; per [redacted] 4/30/56, #20-13

100-80638-102

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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[Signature]

RHB:DFS (#7-4)

(7)

MEMO

NY 100-26603-041

- "3. How many recruits since 9/1/55 0
a) " " re-registered since 9/1/55 99
b) " " pick-ups since 9/1/55 0
4. How many Transfers-in did you get since 9/1/55 9
a) " " came in registered 8
b) " " not registered 1
c) " " did you register since 9/1/55 0
5. How many Transfer-out since 9/1/55 8
6. Present membership (2 plus 3 plus 4 minus 5) 91 Rep. M-
7. How many of (1) above were drops since 9/1/55 14
8. How many of (1) above can still be registered 3
9. How many of (4b) above can you register 1
10. By what date will this be done 3/15/56 "

Informant advised that he will turn over to "Florence" aka "Frances" LNU, assistant membership director of the Queens County CP.

If any of the foregoing information is used in a report or disseminated outside of the Bureau, it must be paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

CHARGE OUT SLIP -⁴SERIALS

FILE 100 80638 Date 9/27/56
Class. Case No.

Closed Pending

Serial No.	Description of Serials	Date Charged
1073	Inadvertently skipped in serializing.	

Gustavo L. Ulrich

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
SEP 27 1956
FBI - NEW YORK
58-20

Employee _____

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

From

Employee

Location

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * * * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 6-6-56

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-8830)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
DISTRICT #9 - ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Extreme care should be used in handling and reporting
the following information in order to protect the identity of the
informant.

Re Chicago letter to the Director dated May 2, 1956,
captioned, "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, DISTRICT #9, DOMESTIC ADMINI-
STRATION ISSUES, INTERNAL SECURITY - C".

CG 5824-S* on May 29, 1956, made available to SA JOHN
E. KEATING, several dictaphone memo belts, the transcription of
which is located in Chicago file A)134-46-2483. The following
information is contained in these memo belts:

2-Bureau (Registered)

2-Butte (Registered)

1-100- (CP, USA - FARMERS MATTERS)

1-100-

2-New York (Registered)

1-100-80638 (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)

1-100-80634 (CP, USA - FARMERS MATTERS)

6-Minneapolis (Registered)

1-100- (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)

1-100- (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)

1-100- (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)

1-100- (CP, USA - FARMERS MATTERS)

1-100- (CP, USA - FUNDS)

1-100-367 (MARTIN MACKIE)

4-Chicago

1-A)134-46-2483a

1-100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)

1-100-18959 (CP, USA - FARMERS MATTERS)

JEK:SVW

(16)

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100-80638-1074

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FBI - NEW YORK	

H. W. Mates
H. W. Mates
#19

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA

DISTRICT #9-ORGANIZATION

Letter to the "Minneapolis Morning Tribune"

Referenced Chicago letter enclosed a five page mimeographed letter dated April 12, 1956, and addressed to JOHN COWLES, President, [redacted] "Minneapolis Morning Tribune", Minneapolis, Minnesota. This letter was written by [redacted]

CG 5824-S* learned from MARTIN MACKIE on May 27, 1956, that this letter has received some support. MACKIE stated that seven prominent people have offered their support in writing. MACKIE also stated that the editor of the "Minneapolis Morning Tribune" answered this letter, was very apologetic, but at the same time, pointed out that the paper has to print certain things which it considers news.

Membership

MACKIE stated that the current membership figure for the Minnesota CP District is 268.

Circulation of a Questionnaire

MACKIE stated that someone or some organization had circulated a questionnaire addressed to people throughout the Minnesota CP District. One of the questions asked whether the reader was satisfied with the Party leadership. The questionnaire instructed that the reader should not sign his name; however, each questionnaire was numbered. MACKIE stated that four of these questionnaires were filled out before the Party was able to expose this maneuver and to stop the filling out of the questionnaire. MACKIE stated that the Minnesota District thinks that the FBI circulated this questionnaire.

Farmers Matters

MACKIE stated that the Minnesota District will set up the Midwest Farm Commission which is to have its headquarters in Minneapolis. CG 5824-S* learned that MACKIE will notify

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA
DISTRICT #9 - ORGANIZATION

MORRIS CHILDS, Co-ordinator of Midwestern CP Districts, when the first meeting of this Farm Commission will be held. CG 5824-S* learned that MACKIE and CHILDS agreed that [redacted] of Montana should be invited to attend meetings of the Midwest Farm Commission since he was formerly an Organizer for the National Farmers Union. [redacted] will also be asked to write an article for discussion on farmers matters.

Dues

CG 5824-S* advised that MARTIN MACKIE did not have any funds or dues breakdown for the National Office of the CP when he was in Chicago on May 27, 1956, and that he was criticized by MORRIS CHILDS, Co-ordinator of Midwestern CP Districts, for having neglected this matter.

Meetings in Minnesota CP District

CG 5824-S* learned that MACKIE had stated that the Minnesota CP District has held two District Board meetings at which the enlarged meeting of the National Committee, held in New York City from April 28 through May 1, 1956, was discussed.

The Minnesota GP District has not scheduled a District Committee meeting as yet, but it is expected that such a meeting will be held within the next few weeks.

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SEA

6/8/56

ATA-CED

ALL INFORMATION

CIV STANDEO (100-26299)

DIRECTOR, PFT

CP, USA, INDEPENDENT, IC-C, CIVIL.

[REDACTED] advised on 6/3/56 that at a special meeting of the Building Trades Section in San Francisco on 5/29/56 [REDACTED] a member of the Building Trades Section, reported that there are 33,000 CP members in England and that there are 40,000 subscribers to the "London Daily Worker." [REDACTED] commented that the CP in the U.S. has dropped one-third of its membership since 1951. *JW 1956*

It was decided at this meeting that each Club should begin discussions on how to carry out the "Daily People's World" Fund Drive and a proposal was made that Club collect a day's pay from CP members by 7/31/56.

INITIAL

DOCUMENTATION: [REDACTED]

re 5/29/56; resolved 6/3/56 by [REDACTED]

filed 100-31.

3-Bureau (4-PLS)

1-New York; 1-Los Angeles; 1-Chicago; 1-Minneapolis (ALL 100-100)

1-CP 100-26299

1-SP 100-26169 (CP, FAITHFUL & FIDELITY)

1-SP 100-11858 (CIVIL)

1-CP 100-31

(10)

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Note

Meter J.W.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC (100-31723)

FROM: SA B. PERKOWSKI, JR.

SUBJECT: CP ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: JUNE 12, 1956

2 - Newark (Registered Mail)
1 - COMINFIL IUE DISTRICT #4
1 - [redacted]

1 - New Haven [redacted]
(Registered Mail)

7 - New York (Registered Mail)

1 - CP MEMBERSHIP
1 - CP NEGRO QUESTION
1 - CP ORGANIZATION
1 - EUGENE DENNIS
1 - WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

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40 - Philadelphia 1 - 100-31723

1 - 100-30938 (CP, BRIEF)
1 - 100-33636 (CP, DOMESTIC ADMIN. ISSUES)
1 - 100-33150 (CP, FACTIONALISM)
1 - 100-33146 (CP, FARMERS MATTERS)
1 - 100-32825 (CP, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1 - 100-33208 (CP, MEMBERSHIP)
1 - 100-33143 (CP, NEGRO QUESTION)
1 - 100-31643 (CP, PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
1 - 100-33505 (CP, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
1 - 100-34981 (CP, UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS)
1 - 100-26102 (COMINFIL, AFL)
1 - 100-10595 (COMINFIL, CIO)
1 - 100-10803 (COMINFIL, FTA)
1 - 100-2400 (COMINFIL, IFLWU)
1 - 100-36095 (COMINFIL, IUE)

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Walter Waters J.W.

#19

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INDEXED:

[redacted]

rec'd per MS 6-13-56
from Philadelphia

PH 100-31723

Copies - continued

1 - 100-8670 (COMINFIL, UE)
1 - 100-1502-5969 (CP EPD INDUSTRIAL)
1 - 100-31688 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-34806 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-34061 (WILLIAM CRAWFORD)
1 - 100-2427 (DAVID DAVIS)
1 - 100-25101 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-20479 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-20107 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-33290 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-32743 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-3658 [REDACTED]
1 - 65-1456 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-5663 [REDACTED]
1 - 65-1686 (THOMAS NABRTED)
1 - 100-38020 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-23953 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-20715 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-18775 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-3581 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-23232 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-5822 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-20310 [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

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On 5/23/56, SA B. PERKOWSKI, Jr. received through the mail from [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, the report quoted below, the original of which is maintained as an attachment to [REDACTED]

"5/20/56

"The District Committee of the Communist Party of Eastern Pa. and Delaware met on Saturday May 19, 1956. They met at 'Five Acres,' in Weymouth, N. J. the home, or rather summer home of [REDACTED]. The reason they met there was because a member of the National Committee was meeting with them. That member happened to be [REDACTED]

PH 100-31723

"who was recently arrested, and apparently couldn't leave the State of New Jersey. She resides in New Jersey, I believe it is in Trenton, I may be wrong.

"The agenda was as follows:

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"1 - Report of EUGENE DENNIS on Behalf of the Nat'l Board - [redacted] led the discussion.

"The following comrades were present:

"1 -	[redacted]	5.	[redacted]	9.	[redacted]
2.	[redacted]	6.	[redacted]	10.	[redacted]
3.	[redacted]	7.	[redacted]	11.	[redacted]
4.	[redacted]	8.	[redacted]	12.	[redacted]
		13.	[redacted]		
		14.	[redacted]		

[redacted] opened the meeting, introducing [redacted] as a member of the National Committee. He said since she couldn't come to us, because of her recent arrest, we had come to her. He asked for nomination of a chairman and secretary for the day. [redacted] and [redacted] were nominated for chairman and [redacted] for Secretary. [redacted] declined and [redacted] was chairman for the day. The Secretary, who merely took down the motions was [redacted]. The meeting was called to order at 9:45 AM by [redacted]. [redacted] gave her report based on the EUGENE DENNIS report. Some of the highlights from her report are as follows: Quote:

" 'Today I shall attempt to bring you an estimation of the party's past program. It is obvious, time will not permit my going into the report in its entirety, therefore, I will deal with certain aspects of the report.'

" 'It is true our party has suffered severe blows in the past few years. We know this is part of our isolation position. We no know our isolating ourselves from the masses of the people was wrong. It played right into the enemy's hand.'

PH 100-31723

"'In view of reactionary drives against labor, our isolation position in reference to labor, the National Committee feels we should not have been so limited in our association, in character. The party should not have lost its ties.

"'Here we have to see our mistakes in the past period. We have to examine our reason for losing ties with labor. I would say there were three (3) reasons for losing these ties:

- "' 1- Our historical neglect of mass work.
- 2- Our Sectarian approach to all matters.
- 3 - We became prisoners of left-centers.

"'These factors facilitated the enemy's attack upon the party.

"'Let's take a look at the way we presented the question of war dangers. The war dangers were exaggerated by us. A further illustration can be seen in our failure to show the gap between the war danger and the winning of peace. There has been much fatalism in our ranks in reference to war & peace.

"'The war danger was real, but how we fought it was the difference.

"'On the fascist menace to our country we exaggerated also. We declared if the Mundt-Nixon Bill passes fascism would come to our country. We allowed the enemy to make the decisions. We did not give correct estimation to many issues. Our mass 'take-offs' by the leading cadre of the party, leaving the rank & file membership of our party alone, has had serious effects with in our party. It has cost a lost of membership.

"'We failed to see what effects the world situation would have on events here. Our wrong estimation on international issues are very real. After all the

PH 100-31723

"international situation played an important factor in the Supreme court's decision on disegregation.

"Further wrong estimations can be seen in our faulty way of connecting IKE & McCARTHY. We minimized the area of fight around McCARTHY. We said no real fight had been waged agst. McCARTHY, because the American people merely scolded McCARTHY's method and not his anti-Communist program. What we failed to realize that this has always been the American way, 'I do not like what you say, but I'll fight to the end to defend your right to say it,' attitude. We tried to force the party's line on the American people instead of using their line, their way of thinking to defeat McCARTHYISM.

"Now lets look at our policy on the economic front. There, too, we certainly made errors. The tone the party implied, was one of saying a depression was here. Now it is true under capitalism, no stable economy can exist, but our line of insisting a depression was right around the corner. We tried to push our thinking on the Marshall plan down the throats of the working people and labor in general. The left certainly would have found better ways and means to warn about the Marshall plan in the trade union movement.

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"We centered our fight against social democratic leaders in the Trade Union Movement. We lost sight of importance of our people having ties with the Masses in the unions. Our attempt to force the party's thinking on the trade union, caused the split." unquote -

"The 'split' [redacted] is talking about, was the CIO kicking several large unions out of the organization because of being Communist dominated. Such unions as UE, Fur & Leather Workers, ect, ect.

[redacted] cont'd - quote

"The advanced sectors of the left never learned how to combine its own princpled and correct position on a number of these questions with the necessity to follow a flexible tactic in the trade union movement, even as

PH 100-31723

"'some of the experiences of the French and Italian comrades showed was possible.

"In the Negro field:

"'There has been a tremendous lack of attention paid to work in the Negro field. We need to reappraise our whole position on self-determination in the Black-Belt.

"'In the 1954 party program the previous position of the party on self-determination in the Black-Belt has been modified.

"'It seems we have to do more than reverse our position by putting it aside. We must state why we have altered our position on the slogan of self-determination. Certainly the developments in the South have not moved in the direction of the establishment of a Negro Nation.

"The basic demands of the Negro people in the South today are for the right to vote, for full employment and equal education.

"'We should emphasize the struggle for Negro Rights has emerged as a general, national democratic task, upon which depends the democratic and social advance of the entire nation.

"'Here again we must re-examine the party's fight against white chauvinism. Has the party abandon its fight agst. white chauvinism?

"'In Negro work we have been guilty of right opportunism as well as left-Sectarism. In many instances our comrades have gone into Negro organizations and lost themselves there, while still others have refused to go into any right-led organization, preferring to stick to left centers. This field of work must be given careful examination. The National Committee is planning to hold another conference in the very near future, to deal solely with the Negro question.

"'What then are the perspectives of the party? We must strengthen the party politically and organizationally. We must strengthen our ties with the masses. One of the things we must draw from this discussion and DENNIS' report, is that we must take decisive measures to widen our contacts and exchange opinions with non-party masses and at the same time insure collective leadership throughout the party.

"'It is important that we take a new look at America. We must examine the possibility of organizing a new and broader mass party of Socialism.

"'There has been a growth of a number of Socialist oriented pro-Marxist currents. This can be explained by influence exerted by the historic victories of Socialism and national liberation, especially by the emergence of Socialism as a world system. This pro-Marxists currents exist in the U. States in spite of a period marked by sharp repression agst. our party.

"'It is true also because of the attacks against our party, socialist-minded people have sought other channels. Still others have gone elsewhere because of our dogmatic Sectarian concepts and methods in one party and our refusal to tolerate outside criticism.

"'We have underestimated the scope and character of this many-sided pro-Socialist elements in this country. We saw only the reconstructed Trotskyists, who we say were out to wreck our party.

"'We took the attitude that our party is the vanguard of the working class, therefore those that want Socialism will eventually have to come to us and accept our complete line.

"'Therefore an entirely new approach is demanded of us. We American Marxists must learn to master the art of applying and developing the universal science of Marxism creatively, on the basis of the experience, circumstances and traditions of our own country.

"'This means, that we have to learn to distinguish between the principles of Marxism which are valid generally, and the different forms & methods Marxists develop their tactics and concretely apply the principles of scientific Socialism in a variety of different situations.

"'
Here I wish to stop, I didn't intend to speak so long. This report is presented to provoke honest and frank discussion and as I understand all of you have had ample time to read the report, a lively discussion should ensue.

"'This report is to go into pamphlet form, where it will be placed in the hands of comrades throughout the nation for discussion. After which another meeting of the National Committee will take place, following which will come a convention in late Dec. or early Jan., at which time the Nat'l Committee will have the collective thinking of comrades thru out the country.' Unquote.

[redacted] asked if there was to be a limit on discussion. [redacted] said no, and said the meeting would last until 7:00 P.M. at which all the [redacted] gave a sad sigh. The first speaker was BOB MORRELL. He said the following things. Quote

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"'I'm very much ready for this discussion. I've given much thought and consideration to DENNIS' report. After reading it, I feel I've wasted the last ten years of my life. I for one can not see anything I've done concretely. I've been in the party twenty-three years (23) and the last ten have been the worst.

"'I feel that our party is no longer a working class party. We have failed to instill our membership discipline.

"'As a result there is a sloppiness about our work. There is a lack of confidence about making decision on the part of rank & file members.

"'Our work with the farmers have been pityful. An example of this can be seen in our failure to participate in the Farmers' struggle agst. the Northeast Airport; because it meant taking their land away. Instead we had our head in a cloud.

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"I level this criticism at the party nationally. Comrade WM. FOSTER is certainly not above criticism and I think we should not fail to let the National Committee know about this.

"Our loss of ties with the masses, our isolation policy from the masses, our un-available tactics in the recent period, has certainly hurt our party. It is no doubt in my mind, that the 20th Congress, help bring these errors to light. How long can we continue to make these errors? A close examination of our work is needed." Unquote.

"Lunch was served. [redacted] was the host. He was present, but did not participate in the meeting. He and [redacted] set the table, on which was baked ham, sharp cheese, hot boiled white potatoes, lettuce, tomatoes, scallions, wine, beer, coffee, tea and rye bread. The comrades ate plenty, after all, the party paid for the food.

"During the lunch hours between mouthfuls, the comrades talked. [redacted] was talking to a small group, including [redacted] [redacted] TOM NABRIED and DAVE DAVIS. He said while he was unavailable, he depended upon himself. He said he had three different apartments, three cars at his disposal.

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"The subject came up because they were talking about [redacted] way of giving directions. His way of expecting comrades to make, or rather reach a destination in a given time, without allowing for traffic. They said [redacted] was sloppy in handling these details.

[redacted] pointed out that during the period when everyone was unavailable, [redacted] was forever exposed to the F.B.I. He could have been picked up many times, according to [redacted]. However, he felt the FBI wanted to get ED STRONG and PHIL BART and then a few others. When they couldn't do this, they just made a package and

"arrested the nine. DAVE DAVIS said the reason [redacted]
was exposed to the FBI was his working with [redacted]
[redacted]

"DAVE DAVIS turned to [redacted] and said he was in New York last week and saw [redacted]. She sent her regards to [redacted]. DAVE said [redacted] had spent sometime in Florida. He gave no further information.

[redacted] came over and [redacted] told of the serious conditions existing in W. Phila. She asked for a meeting with him. She said she felt TOM NABRIED and BILL CRAWFORD should sit in on such meeting, which would also include [redacted] and [redacted]. [redacted] told her to set the date and to let him know Tuesday, at which time an organizer's meeting (Section Organizers) would be held.

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"Lunch was over in forty-five minutes (45).

"[redacted] called the meeting to order and [redacted] was the first speaker. He said the following - quote:

"First I want to make a motion that this body thank [redacted] for coming here today, giving up time with her family, and aiding us in this discussion."

"[redacted] cut in - and said she felt it was her duty.
[redacted] cont'd saying -

"Nevertheless we thank you, if only from the human side of the issue.

"Now to DENNIS report, in the first place I want to make a motion that this report does not be placed in pamphlet form, because this would tend to finalize the thing; and if it true that the Nat'l Committee wants a collective thinking, then the report should remain as is for discussion in sections and clubs, and the results be placed in pamphlet form.

"You see I do not agree with everything that DENNIS has said here. His reference to left centers, left progressive, progressives, and ect - need some clarification.

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"'What is the meaning of left? This issue certainly needs to be cleared up.

"Furthermore I do not believe that left Sectarism is the main cause of our errors. I think we need to look further than this. I don't pretend to have the answer. I am so tired of sitting down at meetings and listening to guys give an answer to every problem. Half time they don't know what the hell they are talking about. If they would listen for a while maybe they could learn.

"Our leadership, including FOSTER, is living on past experiences in the labor movement in another era to make present day decision. They are not close to the working people and therefore most of them do not know what is taking place in the labor movement today. So they give some fantastic decision and expect our people who are still in the trade union to carry them out. Is there any wonder we have no ties?

"Also I want to say maybe you should be critical of me because I have very little patience with [redacted] because he is trying to give answers from the books instead of thru experiences and close associations with the working class. The same thing goes for [redacted]. I expect more of them and yet they are constantly disappointing. Some of the errors of the past are still evident today.

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"On the Negro question I want to say this, we fought white chauvinism in the party and stopped there. We did not broaden this fight.' unquote -

"DAVE DAVIS was the next speaker - quote -

[redacted] "After reading the DENNIS report and listening to [redacted] I'm convinced that a basic organizational change is needed. The same leaders of the party are in the leadership now, that was leading in the Browder days.

"I want to devote my time to the party's work in the trade union movement. I am disturbed by DENNIS' hinting at a split in the AFL - CIO merger. I don't

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"I think we should be the ones to spread such a thing. Furthermore - the differences between a MEANY and a REUTHER are not so great. I think our role should be one of dispelling such talk.

"This question of Individual Cult or Cult of Individuals has played a role in our party. It has helped to destroy our ties with the labor movement. Any comrade who was head of a big union in the old days were listen to regardless of how the rank & file felt about him. After all our comrades who headed unions didn't earn these jobs, they got them during a course of struggle on the parts of the parts of the American people and may be because we talked a little louder than others we became business agents of various locals. So when these big shots spoke out, the party leadership listen to them. They were after all leaders of 5,000 or 6,000 people. Never mind what the rank & file were saying about these people.

"This was particular true in the old FTA (Food & Tobacco Workers) Also with a TOM DELANEY, [redacted] of UE. The party leadership would hear no critical remarks about these men. They were Gods. And when the smoke cleared away we had nothing left. Our position in the Marshall Plan and many other issues that did not deal with the economic needs of the American working people were forced upon labor, the left elements were kicked out of the Trade Union Movement. Our failure to be flexible on many matters led to the split in the labor movement." unquote

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[redacted] was the next speaker he was brief. He spoke on the Negro Question, saying he not had ample time to read the report by DENNIS. However, he felt the whole question of self-determination must be critically re-examine. He said he agreed with [redacted] [redacted] that the report should not be put in pamphlet form. He also agreed with [redacted] that the fight agst. white chauvinism should be broaden into the mass organizations.

[redacted] was the next speaker. He said he did not understand what party leaders in this district meant, when they referred to 'They' in giving reports. He

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"wondered if they meant the Nat'l Board or if it were just a cover up, not to reveal a decision as his own decision. This reference to 'They' he felt must be stopped, because it was confusing. He also felt what the party talked about, such as peace, were not being talked about by workers. He found when he went into a shop it was a big difference from a party meeting. He said he didn't know how the party line could be gotten across to the average worker.

"[redacted] was next. [redacted] was also brief. He felt that so much discussion was not necessary. That we know where the ~~errors~~ had been made and now the job for correcting them must be started.

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"Next came [redacted] - quote:

"I want to agree with GUY [redacted] that this report should not be put in pamphlet form. I also want to say Socialism is no foreign word to Americans, it is us who have made it a dirty word in this country by our errors.

"I disagree with BOB MORRELL of ten wasted years. I don't feel that. I also can not take a negative approach to all our work in the past - We have made some errors yes, but at the same time we have made some contributions to the working class in America as well as to labor & the Negro people.

"There certainly is room for improvement in our fight for Socialism. We should remember this, Jeffersonian Democracy is something, even when Socialism comes we'll still maintain. It is a part of our American heritage.

"I know that this isn't the place to bring this up, but we in Local 107 - UE are very disturbed by events taking place in district #4. We had met with party members of that district and even told their position would

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"'be different from the one they took on the merger of that district with IUE. There has also been some discussion in the party agst. fragmentation of U.E. However the National representatives have not had the courtesy to talk to Local 107 about the Merger.

"'Meanwhile the Party Shop Club of Local 107 decided it would still give vigorous support to the strike and would accept aid from anyone, whether it be district #4 or anyone else. This decision, which I feel is correct was reached without the party leadership here. They have since, approved it.' Unquote.

[redacted] was next - quote -

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"'I didn't have ample time to read the DENNIS report, however, I do have a few comments to make. It seems to me, new forces are needed in our party on a National as well as district level. This does not mean that all the old leaders should be replace ed. Some should be kept to work with the new cadre, teaching and training them for future party leadership. Cadre is an important factor to consider, if we are to correct past errors.

"'I want to agree with [redacted] that we have to look at America anew and learn to apply Marxist principles according to the issues and situations in our country. This does not mean we are deviating from the Communist parties in the world. It is true that a communist party is International first and foremost, but I'm talking about a party not a country. Therefore how we see socialism coming to our country may differ from other countries, however, the communist party, here like elsewhere in the world hopes for world socialism. I think this basic understanding must be made clear to all comrades, if we are going to win the ideological struggle.' Unquote.

[redacted] gave the comrades a five minute break at this point.

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" [redacted] remarked to [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] and BEN, he was receiving unemployment compensation. He showed them his card and he listed his occupation as 'Business Agent.' [redacted] remarked, that he really didn't want a job, [redacted] laughed and said he certainly didn't.

[redacted] was the next speaker - quote:

" I disagree with BOB, when he tells me he has wasted ten years. I've been in the party seventeen years and I don't feel that I've wasted any of them. In the past ten years, I've fought for peace, I've fought agst. McCARTHYISM, I've fought for Negro liberation. True I may have made errors, but I fought.

" I feel that our party has always been sectarian. We have been too arrogant about Socialism. After all Socialism is the heritage of America. Guys like [redacted] and others certainly were Socialists, regardless of how vague.

" On the Negro question, this question of self-determination should be cleared up. It seems that Negro people have decided on intergration. Their culture is certainly intergrated with American culture. Their fight at this moment is not one of liberation from a nation that has oppressed them, but rather one for intergration, equal rights. So how do we come to talk about self-determination? When will we learn?"

[redacted] was the next speaker - quote:

" It is true the 20th Congress forced the party to stop and examine its role in regard to Socialism.

" We in this country are faced with contradictions. There's a shortage of cadre and a problem of bringing party policy to the forefront.

" It is true that the unavailable period took a heavy toll of our membership. We are left with something like 20,000 members in this country. We should re-examine this period. The expense on the party was evident in terms

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"'of money also. It is true we sent some of our people as far as California, away from families. This didn't help the situation. It is also true we allowed the enemy to make decisions and create situations for us during this period.

"The period of liquidation was also an error. We just dropped member after member. Many we'll never regain.

"Our method of operations has been wrong. We have not operated by collective decision. In most cases one man made a decision, it became law for the party.

"It is a certainty that we have curtailed, and yes in some instances stopped criticism. Creeping into our ranks have been the tendency to cut off discussions. We only have to look at the Jewish Commission for an example.

"Here we find one or two men have been the Jewish Commission, formulating policy and executing it. This method of work has spelled trouble for the party.

"Another weakness within the party, has been its failure to win the rank & file membership to the ideological struggles.

"The whole problem of comrades separating their mass work from party work. There's no such animal. Mass work is party work and we must see that membership understands this.' (Unquote)

Quote: [redacted] spoke next: saying the following:

"I agree with GUY [redacted] the report should not be put in pamphlet form but rather be used as it is being used today, to provoke open and frank discussion on every level.

"I shall endeavor to make this brief, because the hour grows late and as I look at the notes Comrade BEN has been making and the pages [redacted] keep writting, I know I must hurry. I want to deal with

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"'two phases of the report, first trade union work.

"'I don't agree with Comrade [redacted] when he states workers aren't talking about peace, or about the same things we talk about. They do - however they talk about it on a level they understand. This is something we Communists have not learned, to utilize the small things and never push our policy in its party form down the throats of the workers.

"'You have to understand the pride and loyalty a union members feels toward his or her local. We must learn to take issues that arise everyday and apply our way of thinking on the workers' level.

"'Pushing advanced issues will only succeed in our being isolated.

"'A concrete example is the party's failure to come up with a tax program. This has long been the concern of every member and officer of the unions. Yet we are too busy calling for an end to the Korean war or something. When all we had to do was use the tax problem and show the worker that war and maintaining troops overseas certainly would hurt their paycheck when it comes to high taxes. But we didn't do this, we considered it too small.

"'Things like this certainly led to the loss of Local 186 of the old FTA. The party members that were in the leadership of that Local were arrogant and very far from the rank & file membership. Whenever a party rank & file member complained, they were ignored. Have we learned from our errors.

"'In the Negro field, our work certainly has fallen short. This does not mean that we have not contributed anything to the Negro's fight for freedom, but it does mean we are lagging behind in its fight now. We can not live on past laurels forever.

"'How do we explain the tremendous loss of membership among Negroes? How do we explain the liquidation period

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"'in the party when we almost eliminated our entire Negro membership.

"'Can we say that white chauvinism is the only cause? No, I think not, although it played a major role; other factors were present. I do not pretend to know all the answers.

"'I do feel Negro leaders in the party made a terrible mistake, they isolated themselves from the Negro people's movement, thus breaking important ties. In the last year the party has started to correct this. Negroes in the party have gone into mass work.

"'We must make concerted efforts to enlarge Negro membership in the party, or else we are whistling in the dark when we talk about rebuilding ties with Negroes.' Unquote.

[redacted] spoke next - quote:

"'I want to ask [redacted] if the DENNIS Report has already gone to press to be put in pamphlet form.' Unquote.

[redacted] said Yes. BEN then said he would like to make a motion that [redacted] use her influence with the National Committee to see that it is not finalized but be used for discussion on every level and that the district and the Nat'l Committee pay for the printing. [redacted] agreed and the comrades agreed that the district and the Nat'l Committee pay for the printing.

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[redacted] continued saying quote:

"'I want to agree with DENNIS report in many ways. It is true we have become 'dealers in events,' 'generalists specialists.' For each field we have a specialist, one man who can give the answer to all the problems in that particular field.

"'We are supposed to be the vanguard of the working class, leading them. Let's stop kidding ourselves we aren't leading anyone. We make beautiful proposals and

PH 100-31723

"and policies for the working class, but they go on their way and we are left with our heads in the clouds.

"The workers have told us to go to hell. Our policy has been too advanced for them, we are guilty of what the Chinese Comrades call 'Montain Grazing.' We are way up on the mountain, the people and workers are down below, and we don't know what the hell is going on.

"We must exert the posture of of our independent role. We must deal with the economic issues that confront the workers .

"I disagree with DAVE when he calls for a complete basic organizational change. Some change in leadership is needed, however, I would call for a merger of some old and some new leadership on a national and district leve. It would be an error to eliminate all old and install new leadership. It would be like throwing a baby into the water and say swim. Let's not go overboard.

"Let's win our ideological struggle and let's cement our ties with the masses of the people!" (Unquote)

"TOM NABRIED spoke next - quote:

"There has been so much laziness in the party that our work has become sloppy. It is true left sectarian has hurt us, but it is also true right errors have hurt us. I have been in the party twenty-six years (26) and I don't feel I have wasted any of them. I have participated in many struggles and the party has played a major role in American history.

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[redacted] hit the nail on the head when she said we do not use the same level as the working people. I've found they are way ahead of us. We must also remember that the standard of living in this country is high, and when we talk about the down-trodden worker, the working man wonders about whom are you talking.

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"The democratic heritage of the American people, have been given over by us to the ruling class and we are not fighting for the best traditions of the American people." Unquote.

[redacted] was the last to speak and [redacted] made everyone laugh when giving the floor to [redacted], he said, 'We will now hear from the comrades in the district.' [redacted] laughed also - he took the floor saying - quote: 'I want to agree with GUY's motion extending our thanks to [redacted] for sitting in on our meeting. It is high time that some one from the Nat'l Committee should sit in on our district committee meetings. It is also a criticism that a motion has to be made to thank a National Representative for participating. I am for more of them participating in our meetings. If we can come to New Jersey, we can also go to New York. In the future we should think in terms of doing this.'

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"[redacted] report was more than a repeat of DENNIS' report. She inserted some of her thinking. I attended that Nat'l Conference and it is hard for one comrade to bring the true meaning of such a report.

"It is also true and apparent that our party has not formulated policy in a Marxist manner. In the future we Marxists in America must learn to deal with issues in our country and how they affect our country, regardless of how they affect the international level.

"All of our can talk on foreign policy, but when it comes to our country we are lagging. Someone once said, 'American Marxists should have one eye on world events and the other on America, but the eye on America has been asleep.'

"Well comrades if we are going to build a party of Socialism in this country, if we are going to sell Socialism to the American people, we had better open that eye. We had better correct our errors.

"'And here I disagree with [redacted] - much discussion is needed. [redacted] feels we know an errors and should move on and correct them. This has been one of our mistakes in the past curtailing discussion. We had better learn to listen.

"A few weeks ago TOM and I were invited to speak on a panel at the University of Pa. The panel was discussing the 20th Congress. The people were anxious to ask is questions and listen to our answers. We listened and learned also.

"One question was asked of TOM (NABRIED) if war came between the Soviet Union and America - what would he do. TOM answered he would do his duty as every other American. Whatever he was called to do he would do it. I was disturbed by TOM's answer at first and then I thought, they asked him what he would do. He answered for himself. He did not speak for the party. What the party's policy and what the individual would do are two separate things. I agreed that TOM had given the correct answer.

"Of course many other questions were asked and we were able to get across many things. People were hearing our side of the story. If TOM had not answered as he did, the chance to answer such questions would not have arisen." Unquote.

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"DAVE DAVIS asked for the floor. He wasn't certain that such an answer was correct. He felt TOM was asked the question as a Communist and the interrogator did not separate him from the party. [redacted] cut DAVE off saying TOM's answer was not up for discussion at this moment.

"It was now 7:35 P.M. A long day. [redacted] said that he, TOM, [redacted] would remain to clean up the place. The meeting was adjourned at 7:45 P.M.

"It was a tined bunch of people. [redacted] and [redacted] left in a '54 Onev. driven [redacted] and [redacted] BILL CRAWFORD drove [redacted] car and [redacted] went with him as did [redacted] [redacted] went in the car with [redacted]

PH 100-31723

"DAVE DAVIS. [redacted] [redacted] BOB MORRELL and [redacted] left together. Everyone was very tired.

"What was new at this meeting. Well I wouldn't say anything new happened, but some old issues were given a new twist.

"I, and this is my own assumption, firmly believe the reds are out to win men's mind. They are angling for ex-reds - who have fallen by the wayside because of the period thru which we have just lived. The Communists are realists. In spite of all the self-criticism and admission of errors, they are realists. Listening to them today, I feel they are shifting gears for a long pull. If they feel they can gain their ulterior goal this way, then they will wage a relentless battle. In America we must be alerted to the Red's New Look."

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Agent's Comments

The individual identified in this report as [redacted] previously has been identified as [redacted] whose true name is not known to informant.

The individual named herein as [redacted] probably is [redacted]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: May 25, 1956

Reference is made to Bureau letter to SAC, New York, copies all offices, captioned as above, and dated March 28, 1956.

Referenced letter described a type of transfer blank apparently being used by the Party in at least one section of the country. The problem of transfers has continued to cause the Party considerable trouble. Recently an informant of the Chicago Office made available a letter dated December 1, 1955, prepared by the National Organizational Commission to all Communist Party districts regarding transfers. This letter is as follows:

2cc - Albany
Albuquerque
Anchorage
Atlanta
Baltimore
Birmingham
Boston
Buffalo
Butte
Charlotte
Chicago
Cincinnati
Cleveland
Dallas
Denver
Detroit
El Paso
Honolulu
Houston
Indianapolis
Kansas City
Knoxville
Little Rock
Los Angeles
Louisville
Memphis

2cc - Miami
Milwaukee
Minneapolis
Mobile
Newark
New Haven
New Orleans
Norfolk
Oklahoma City
Omaha
Philadelphia
Phoenix
Pittsburgh
Portland
Richmond
St. Louis
Salt Lake City
San Antonio
San Diego
San Francisco
San Juan
Savannah
Seattle
Springfield
Washington

Photographic Work
Completed on JUN 7 1956
By Photo Lab. N. Y. Field Division

Planned for
1st copies of 70
JUN 11
100-128817
4 de Mayo
6/11

17-20638-1077

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 29 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

Letter to SAC, New York

"Present slipshod practices in handling transfers continue to create security problems and unnecessary delays in contacting transfers. Transfers received by the National Office are frequently illegible, written on odd pieces of paper, and contain inadequate information as to standing, characterization and method of contacting the person to be transferred. It is also apparent that transfers from clubs and sections are merely transmitted by Districts without study of the transfer information as to its adequacy as well as political approval by the higher committee. The National Office has been placed in the difficult position of having to decide to send through inadequate material in order to avoid extreme delays.

"Beginning with January 1st, the National Office will return improperly prepared transfers to the district of origin which must assume responsibility for further delay.

"Until a new national transfer system is evolved, districts should prepare their own uniform system. Transfers should be made on a half-sheet of paper, preferably typed; they must contain the following information: (1) Name and address of person (s) to be transferred; (2) dues standing; (3) a clear political characterization as to activity and role, level of development, length of time in, recommendation for assignment, etc.; (4) a clear explanation of how the person who makes the contact is to be recognized.

"Many members have been lost because of inadequate handling of points (3) and (4), and frequently questions are raised about the person being transferred by the district of origin without any recommendation from the district. Any doubts must be resolved in the district of origin, and all districts will be held to account for persons transferred by them."

Letter to SAC, New York

This national policy of the Communist Party regarding transfers will afford all offices a clearer picture of what is expected of Communist Party districts throughout the country. Any data developed in this regard by all offices through the use of various investigative techniques should receive proper evaluation and careful analysis bearing in mind the foregoing letter.

The Bureau is interested to know how and where these transfer records are maintained by the Communist Party on a district and national level; the identity of individuals charged with keeping such records; the method by which such data is transmitted to the national office; and whether these transfers are actually being maintained at the national office or possibly kept elsewhere.

All offices having informants or sources in a position to furnish data concerning this matter should contact them promptly. Advise the Bureau and pertinent offices where positive information is developed. Chicago should specifically interview CG 5824-S as to all he knows in this regard and New York should be alert to the development of pertinent information in this regard through informants or confidential investigative techniques reporting on activities close to Party headquarters.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)
 (REGISTERED MAIL)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-4843)

SUBJECT: C. P., U. S. A.
 IS - C

DATE: JUN 11 1956

DISCREET AND CIRCUMSPECT USE AND HANDLING OF INSTANT INFORMATION IS URGED TO INSURE AGAINST COMPROMISE OF SOURCE.

On 5-28-56 [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA [redacted] as follows [redacted]

At approximately 5:30 P.M., 5-26-56, [redacted] East St.,
 Louis, Illinois, member of State Board, District #21, per [redacted]

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)	2 - Springfield (1 - 100- [redacted])
2 - Butte (1 - 100- CP - Org.)	(1 - 100- [redacted]) (RM)
11 - Chicago (1 - 100-7705, CP - USA)	19 - St. Louis (1 - 100-4843)
1 - 100- (CP - Org.)	1 - [redacted]
1 - 100- (CP - Security Measures)	1 - 100-345 [redacted]
1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)	1 - 100-6923 (CP - Funds)
1 - 100- (CP - Membership)	1 - 100-7148 [redacted]
1 - 100- (CP - Negro Question)	1 - 100-7399 (CP - WM)
1 - 100- (CP - Strat. in Ind.)	1 - 100-7625 [redacted]
1 - 100- (CP - Polit. Act.)	1 - 100-7781 (CP - Org.)
1 - 100- (CP - Pamph. and Pub.)	1 - 100-7791 (CP - N.Q.)
1 - 100- (Progressive Party)	1 - 100-9716 [redacted]
1 - 100- (Cominfil - NAACP) (RM)	1 - 100-9974 [redacted]
2 - Denver (1 - 100- [redacted])	1 - 100-7448 (CP - Membership)
(1 - 100- CP - Org.) (RM)	1 - 100-7314 (CP - SM)
4 - Milwaukee (1 - 100- CP - Org.)	1 - 100-7756 (CP - S.I.I.)
(3 - 100-) (RM)	1 - 100-7789 (CP - P.A.)
10 - New York (1 - 100-4931, CP - USA)	1 - 100-7367 (CP - P. & P.)
1 - 100-80641 (CP - Org.)	1 - 100-8050 (P.P.M.)
1 - 100- (CP - Membership)	1 - 100-2107 (Cominfil - NAACP)
1 - 100- (CP - Negro Question)	1 - 100-16304 (H.C.U.A.)
1 - 100- (CP - Security Measures)	
1 - 100- (CP - Strat. in Ind.)	
1 - 100- (CP - Polit. Act.)	
1 - 100- (CP - Pamph. and Pub.)	
1 - 100- (Progressive Party)	
1 - 100- (Cominfil - NAACP) (RM)	

CROC:gmr
 (52)

100-80638-1078

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 12 1956	
FBI - KANSAS CITY	

J. Waters #19

SL 100-4843

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: C. P., U. S. A.

IS - C

[redacted] (convicted St. Louis Smith Act subject), [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted] all of St. Louis and
all members of SL CP City Committee per [redacted] departed from St.
Louis in [redacted] automobile, arriving in Chicago, Illinois, approxi-
mately 12:15 A.M., 5-27-56, to attend CP "Midwest Regional Conference."
No one was designated as being in charge of this delegation representing
District #21.

[redacted] liaison figure between District #21 State Board
and SL CP City Committee per [redacted] advised [redacted] on 5-25-56 that
he was going to give [redacted] \$75.00 for expense money for
the five local delegates, plus an un-named amount for expenses for use
of [redacted] automobile. Each delegate was subsequently given \$15.00
by [redacted] for necessary expenses.

The group stayed at the "Y" during the night and at approximately 9:00 A.M. on 5-27-56 proceeded to the Daily Worker Office at 36 West Randolph, where nothing of importance was discussed and where they were directed to the situs of the conference by means of written instructions. They departed at approximately 9:25 A.M. and proceeded to a hotel, name and exact location unknown, situated some three blocks south of above address, arriving at about 9:35 A.M. The conference was held in a large meeting room of this hotel, believed to be located on the second floor.

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Twenty-two persons attended the conference and the only Negroes present were three of the members of the St. Louis delegation, which included one Negro woman. Those in attendance included an unidentified male believed by [redacted] to be from Montana, city unknown; three unidentified individuals, all white, from Wisconsin; and one [redacted], described as in mid-thirties, Mexican extraction, black hair, dark complexion, medium build, thin face, believed to be from Denver, and described as a Smith Act victim whose husband had been expelled from the CP. No other identifying data as to names or residences of other delegates was obtainable.

All delegates were given paper at the inception of the conference, which was chaired by [redacted] who was elected by the delegates; and all five District #21 delegates, as well as others, took notes during the principal business, which consisted of a report by MORRIS CHILDS predicated upon Twentieth Congress, CP - S.U., and the DENNIS report to CP National Committee.

SL 100-4843

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: C. P., U. S. A.
IS - C

CHILDS' REPORT

He stated there must be a complete re-evaluation of the entire CP apparatus employing the elements of criticism and self-criticism. Reference was made to the lack of the proper kind of leadership in organized labor. He stated that the enemies of the CP had been allowed to isolate the CP from the masses, thereby making it a captive of "our own left sectarian organization."

CP made serious error in 1951 when it reduced membership by one-third on a so-called security basis. He commented that some members were dropped without the situation being fully checked, while some were expelled and others merely forgotten. He stated that during this period of time the methods of the CP were of such a nature that one comrade, not identified, inquired, "What would really have happened had we been in power?", and CHILDS stated, "Who knows?". Informant advised that the inference was clear that liquidations would have been resorted to by the CP in the United States if it had been in power in the same manner as in the Soviet Union.

Another mistake made by the CP in recent years was in analyzing the economic situation in 1954 by predicting a crisis of capitalism in the United States which had proven to be incorrect. He stated the entire approach to this matter had been incorrect.

He commented nothing had been done by the CP to eliminate the long-standing split between the A.F.L. and C.I.O., and further commented that the CP had not played any role in the recent merger of these organizations.

Concerning a third party, he stated that it was the thinking of many that the supporting of the Progressive Party was a mistake as it had no future, for the reason that no real tie existed between it and the broad masses and as a result it became isolated.

CP failed to recognize and evaluate the importance of the Negro movement in mass organizations and once again was isolated from the struggle of the Negro peoples. He commented that recognition should have been afforded in view of the fact that the struggle for Negro rights and liberation was advancing on all fronts. He commented that recognition had been given to Communist Party support in NAACP, N.C.P.

SL 100-4843

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: C. P., U. S. A.
IS - C

and other Negro mass organizations even though the weakness of the CP in its approach had been reflected.

He stated that white chauvinism must be eliminated.

He related that one of the main weaknesses of the CP was in failing to recognize left sectarianism within the CP.

He asserted that new ideas must be had and changes made "on the American road to socialism." He stated collective discussion and collective leadership were needed and that each member must feel free to both criticize and accept criticism. He stated that no solution existed and no preparatory measures could be formulated as to ways and means of avoiding the same mistakes in the future.

At the conclusion of the report, which was of a duration in excess of one hour, those in attendance had lunch in an adjoining room.

b7D

During the afternoon session of the conference, the various delegates expressed themselves on various phases of CHILDS' report and on DENNIS's report [redacted] took no notes following the conclusion of CHILDS' report). Disagreement was expressed by those in attendance with various phases of the CP line during recent years and disagreement was also expressed with the fact that there were too many full-time functionaries.

A motion was offered by an unidentified individual regarding the moving of both the CP National Headquarters and the Daily Worker Office from New York to Chicago. During a discussion of this motion, it was pointed out that certain people could not leave New York at the present time, and objection was also expressed to the removal of the Daily Worker Office. Following the discussion, a motion was unanimously adopted to move CP National Headquarters from New York to Chicago with a proviso that it might be left to the discretion of the national leadership.

[redacted] referring to the fact that members had been expelled during the security drive in recent years for voicing various opinions, commented that a great deal of energy had been devoted to the fighting of thought control in the United States and that perhaps the CP should have been fighting this very element within its own ranks.

SL 100-4843

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: C. P., U. S. A.
IS - C

[redacted] in referring to white chauvinism, raised the question as to the consequences if the CP came into power with chauvinistic elements present, and further queried if such a condition existed, if the Negro would have to fight then as hard to maintain his position as he does at the present time in a capitalistic society. [redacted] discussing the CP position regarding Negro women, advocated the recruitment of more Negro women into the CP. [redacted] referred to the fact that only one Negro woman was in attendance at instant conference and commented that this reflected a CP weakness in failing to strengthen itself through this segment of the population.

[redacted] requested an apology from the conference to the St. Louis area for the lack of Negro representation from other sections or areas represented at the conference. An unidentified individual likewise expressed criticism in this connection and moved that there be an adequate number of Negro representatives at all future conferences of this type, which motion was unanimously adopted.

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[redacted] commented that the criticism expressed regarding CP prediction as to crisis of capitalism in 1954 was not justified in his opinion.

Inquiry in general was made about subpoenas issued by H.C.U.A. with particular reference to the H.C.U.A. hearing scheduled to commence 6-4-56 in St. Louis. [redacted] commented how the party had approached this problem in her city, believed to be Denver, and stated that they had been able to obtain the signatures of 120 of the best citizens urging that the element of fair play be recognized by H.C.U.A. in its hearing.

The District #21 delegation left the hotel about 6:30 P.M., which was prior to the summation of the conference; had dinner in the Loop; left Chicago about 7:30 P.M.; and arrived in St. Louis about 1:15 A.M. on 5-28-56.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

-- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

To : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

From : SAC, Memphis (100-2198)

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Date: 6/12/56

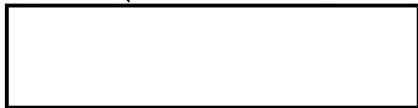
Relet Chicago to Bureau, 5/9/56, captioned as above, reflecting information furnished on 4/28/56 by CG-5824-S*. Relet Bureau to New York 5/25/56, captioned as above.

The first referenced letter stated that CG-5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, exhibited on 4/28/56 a note containing the following information:

"To Kentucky, via Indiana thru Chicago"

This note was signed as follows: "F.L. Southern Reg. Com."

Attached to this note was an envelope addressed as follows:



Inside this envelope was the following letter:

2 - Bureau (100-3-68) (REG. MAIL)
1 - New York (100-) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (REG. MAIL)
1 - New York (100-) (CP SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE) (REG. MAIL)
1 - New York (100-) [REDACTED] (REG. MAIL)
1 - New York (100-) [REDACTED] (REG. MAIL)
1 - Chicago (100-) (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP) (REG. MAIL)
1 - Louisville (100-) (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP) (REG. MAIL)
1 - Louisville (100-) [REDACTED] (REG. MAIL)
1 - Louisville (100-) [REDACTED] (REG. MAIL)
1 - Memphis (100-2198) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION - NATIONAL LEVEL)
1 - Memphis (100-459) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION - MEMPHIS DIVISION)
1 - Memphis (100-2235) [REDACTED]
1 - Memphis (100-2681) [REDACTED]
1 - Memphis [REDACTED] 100-3118 (CP BRIEF)
1 - Memphis [REDACTED] 100-3455 [REDACTED]
1 - Memphis (100-3098) (SEARCHED INDEXED FILED) [REDACTED], Wa. [REDACTED]
1 - Memphis (100-3016) (SEARCHED INDEXED FILED) [REDACTED]
1 - Memphis (100-3517) [REDACTED]

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WHL:ME
(21)

JUN 15 1956
FBI - NEW YORK

Wales J.W.
Wales J.W.

PWS,

Letter to Director, FBI

- 2 -

June 12, 1956

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

"Dear [redacted]

"This will introduce a friend of yours, Ann.

"As ever,

"M. M. & M."

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With regard to the above, it is believed that the initials "F. L." are those of [redacted] Was., currently serving in a leadership capacity in the Southern Regional Committee, CP, USA, and living in New York, N.Y.; that the [redacted] stands for [redacted]

As recently as 6/4/56, [redacted] who has always furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA's [redacted] and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that [redacted] and wife, [redacted] now living in Owensboro, Ky., are active dues paying CP members; that the [redacted] moved to Owensboro, Ky. from Memphis, Tenn. in August, 1954 and that to the knowledge of [redacted] their respective CP memberships have never been transferred to Kentucky. [redacted] pointed out that every month since August, 1954 through May, 1956, the [redacted] have mailed their CP dues to [redacted] W.A., of [redacted], Memphis, identified by [redacted] as the Memphis, Tenn. CP Chairman. [redacted] added on 6/4/56 that [redacted] wife of [redacted], is an active dues paying CP member; further, that the initials "M. M. & M." undoubtedly stand for [redacted] (the nickname of [redacted], [redacted], and [redacted])

With regard to the notation. "This will introduce a friend of yours, Ann", [redacted] and [redacted] who has always furnished reliable information in the past, advised above Agents on 6/4/56 that [redacted] of New York, N.Y. and representing the Southern Regional Committee, CP, USA, visited Memphis in July, 1955, December 2 and 3, 1955, and again on March 3 and 4, 1956, each time using the alias of "ANN". ME-165-S feels that it is quite logical that [redacted] or some other CP functionary could logically take a

- 2 -

Letter to Director, FBI

- 3 -

June 13, 1956

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

trip to Kentucky to look up the [redacted] although [redacted] and [redacted] who are very close to [redacted] say he has never given any indication that such a visit has transpired.

In fact, these Informants stated on 6/4/56 that thus far, neither [redacted] or [redacted] has mentioned anything about the CP memberships of [redacted] and [redacted] being transferred from Memphis to Kentucky.

These Informants stated that they know nothing about any current CP transfer policy.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

6/12/56

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-26239)

CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

ReBulet to New York 5/25/56, concerning transfer records.

There are indications that transfer records for District 13 are funneled through [redacted] who, though not employed at the "Daily People's World," spends approximately two hours there each week-day morning. She is known to have had material relating to transfers, registration and finances, but latest information indicates she does not keep it at home. The "DPW" has a watchman living on the premises.

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There is no precise method by which transfers enter or leave District 13. It is safe to say that any trusted CP member traveling East or West could be called upon to carry transfers and other material.

2-Bureau (REG.)

1-New York (REG.)

1-SF (100-26239)

APG:hko:S-1

(4)

100-26239-1080

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

John Waters J.W.

Director, FBI

6/18/56

SAC, San Juan

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

MEMBERSHIP

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Rebulet to New York, copies all offices, dated March 28, 1956
and Bulet to New York dated May 25, 1956.

[redacted] and [redacted] all who have furnished reliable information in the past, and all current active members of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico have advised the following:

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When the U.S. Internal Revenue Bureau took over the records of the DAILY WORKER in New York, the PCP Central Committee ordered all records destroyed which might implicate any PCP member. At the same time they assigned Party names for reference in any future record. Each informant believes there are records of dues and funds turned into the Party under the Party names assigned to each active member. Each informant has advised that these records are maintained at the temporary headquarters of the PCP in the home of [redacted]

[redacted] rank and file PCP member, who resides in Caserio Las Casas, Santurce, Puerto Rico. The PCP Waterfront Section holds weekly meetings at the residence of [redacted] which is located in a low cost housing development. The PCP Central Committee ordered the records kept under lock and key and ordered a new lock installed after the DAILY WORKER affair. The PCP Central Committee explained to the members that the residence of [redacted] is the most secure place for Party records because there is always someone in the house and any stranger would be immediately detected.

The individual treasurers of the three San Juan Sections of the PCP, the only active Sections in Puerto Rico, turn in weekly reports of the receipts from the Sections.

[redacted] PCP [redacted] of Finance on the Central Committee, and one of the TI San Juan SMITH ACT defendants, is in overall charge of the financial records.

Each informant mentioned above is of the opinion that the records maintained are very meager and that no detailed records

- 2 - Bureau
1 - New York
1 - San Juan (100-20E)

TCB:gmg
(4)

100-20E-1081

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JUN 20 1956
FBI - NEW YORK
JUN 20 1956
FBI - NEW YORK

Director, FBI

6/18/56

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

are kept, and there are no membership records as such.

The Bureau will be kept advised of any additional information coming to the attention of the San Juan Office from established sources.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)

DATE:

JUN 20 1956

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-11067)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT NUMBER TWO
NEGRO QUESTION
IS-C

Re New York letter dated 5/28/56, and Albany letter to New York dated 4/26/56.

[redacted] was contacted by SA ROBERT E. MARGISON on June 5, 1956, and furnished the following information orally:

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The Communist Album was displayed to the informant and he identified PEARL LAWS as the [redacted] who attended a New York State Negro Commission Meeting held in New York City on April 21, 1956.

A photo of ALLAN LAWS was then displayed to the informant and he made a positive identification of ALLAN LAWS as the [redacted] who attended this Negro Commission meeting.

CC: 2-Bureau (100-3-75) (RM)

1-NY 100-79967- [redacted] (19) (RM) (Enc. 14)
 1-NY 100-99369-ALLAN LAWS (19)
 1-NY (100-85936-PEARL LAWS) (19)
 1-NY (100-79025- [redacted] (12-16)
 1-NY (100-102357- [redacted] (12-16)
 1-NY (100-69058- [redacted] (20-11)
 1-NY (100-70727- [redacted] (20-11)
 1-NY (100-25840- [redacted] (7-5)
 1-NY (100-9369-TED BASSETT) (19)
 1-NY (100-100237- [redacted] (19)
 1-NY (100-) (UNKNOWN SUBJECT [redacted] (7-6)
 1-NY (100-80643-WOMEN MATTERS) (12-14)
 1-NY (100-7629) (NAACP) (7-2)
~~1-NY (100-80638-MEMBERSHIP)~~ (12-14)
 1-NY (100-) (PTA) (7-2)
 1-NY (100-128815) (12-14)
 1-NY (100-92208- [redacted];

REM:PA
(21)

1-AL 100-11067-NEGRO QUESTION)

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JUN 22 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Walter J. Waters

100-80638-102

AL 100-11057

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)
FROM: SAC, ALBANY
RE: CP, USA DISTRICT #2
NEGRO QUESTION
IS-C

b6
b7C

A photograph of [redacted] was displayed to informant and he made a positive identification of her as the [redacted] who had attended the April 21 meeting.

A photograph of [redacted] was displayed to the informant and he promptly identified her as the individual who was [redacted] at April 21 meeting. He stated she was the one who had given the PTA report and was from Brooklyn.

A photograph of [redacted] was displayed to informant and she stated she definitely was not the [redacted] who attended the April 21, 1956, meeting.

A photograph of [redacted] was displayed to informant and he stated she was definitely not the [redacted] who was at the April 21 meeting.

When the informant was reviewing the photo album he hesitated at the photo of [redacted] but finally went on without making a statement. After he had reviewed entire album his attention was again called to [redacted] and he said [redacted] was probably identical with the [redacted] [redacted] who attended the April 21 meeting. He said that the photo in the album made [redacted] appear heavier than he recalled [redacted]. If New York has a more suitable photo of [redacted] it is suggested that it be furnished to Albany for display to the informant.

While reviewing the Communist Album the informant hesitated at a photo of TED BASSETT. He finally went on by the picture without making a comment. His attention was then called to the photo of [redacted] and he stated he knew he had seen [redacted] some place, but he had not identified him as the UNSUB TED at the April 21 meeting. He noted that TED had only appeared, and informant had only met him, at this one meeting. He said that BASSETT probably was unsub TED from the April 21 meeting. If New York has additional pictures of BASSETT they should be furnished to Albany.

ZL 100-11067

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT NO. 2
NEGRO QUESTION
IS-C

While reviewing the Communist Album the informant went past the picture of BEN DAVIS without comment. His attention was then specifically directed to the photo but he was non-committal. The second photo of BEN DAVIS in the album wherein DAVIS is wearing a leather jacket, was then displayed and he promptly identified DAVIS as the individual at the April 21 meeting.

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A photograph of [redacted] was displayed to the informant and he made a positive identification of her as being identical with the [redacted] at the April 21 meeting.

The eight surveillance photos were then displayed to the informant. Certain individuals have been numbered by the writer. He stated that 1 was [redacted]. He stated that number 6 had to be [redacted] inasmuch as [redacted] and [redacted] had entered the meeting together. He identified number 2 as being PEARL LAWS and number 7 as being ALAN LAWS. He identified number 4 as BEN DAVIS and number 5 as [redacted]. He said number 8 must be [redacted] although he was making identification strictly from the woman's build and from the fact that he believed that she was in the group which was photographed. He said he recalled this group standing in front of the building before the meeting and stated he stood across the street waiting for them to enter before he did.

He said that number 3 was the [redacted] who attended the April 21 meeting. He could furnish no other identification of any of these UNSUBS. He said that he did not believe that the individual marked number 9 was involved in the meeting. He said he saw this individual standing in front of the building when he first arrived and said he had walked down to the corner to look around before he entered the building and when he returned to the building the number 9 individual was gone.

AL 100-11067

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)

FROM: SAC, ABANY

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2
NEGRO QUESTION
IS-C

He stated he did not believe that individual marked number 10 was at the meeting. He said while the meeting was going on he could hear other people in the building talking and walking around.

He stated individual marked number 12 was probably UNA. He made this identification because UNA wears her hair in the style as that worn by the woman in the photo.

These 14 photos are being returned to the New York Office.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 6/18/56

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) (19)

SUBJECT : CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS-C

Extreme care should be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

Re NY teletype 6/8/56.

CG 5824-S* furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 6/7/56.

TIME, TYPE AND PLACE OF MEETING

CG 5824-S* advised that the National Board of the CP, USA met in CP Headquarters in the JSSS in NYC, on Thursday, 6/7/56.

PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE

CG 5824-S* advised that the following persons were in attendance at this meeting:

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 3 - Chicago (100-18953) (RM)
 - (1-a) 134-46
 - (1-100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
- 13 - Cleveland (100-) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - EDUCATION)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - MEMBERSHIP)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - NEGRO QUESTION)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - WOMEN'S MATTERS)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - NATIONAL GROUPS COMMISSION)
 - (1 - 100-) (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
 - (1 - 100-) (HY LUMER)
 - (1 - 100-) [REDACTED] (ph))
 - (1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
- 3 - Cincinnati (100-) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - MEMBERSHIP)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - New York (100-80641) (19)

JEK:hac

(48)

100-80638-1083

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FBI - NEW YORK	

J. WALTERS
JUN 19 1956
FBI - NEW YORK
J. WALTERS
JUN 19 1956

b6
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LETTER TO DIRECTOR

Re: CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS-C

PHIL BART; AL. BLUMBERG; MORRIS CHILDS of Illinois;
BEN DAVIS, JR.; EUGENE DENNIS; FRED FINE, who was late for the
meeting; JOHN GATES; JAMES JACKSON; ANTHONY KRCHMAREK;
HY LUMER of Ohio; [REDACTED] who was late for the
meeting, [REDACTED] JAC. STACHEL; [REDACTED] (ph) of
Cleveland; [REDACTED] MAX WEISS; [REDACTED] of
Ohio; CARL WINTER of Michigan and LEON WOFSY.

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- 2 - Detroit (100-) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Newark (100-) (RM)
(1 - 100-2974) [REDACTED]
- 3 - New Haven (100-) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-81752) (CP - BRIEF) (7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-86624) (CP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-80638) (CP - MEMBERSHIP) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-89816) (FRED FINE) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-19723) (JOHN GATES) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON, JR.) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-23290) [REDACTED] (19)
- 1 - New York (100-23290) [REDACTED] (7-2)
- 1 - New York (100-18965) (JACK STACHEL) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-66211) [REDACTED] (19)
- 1 - New York (100-18673) [REDACTED] (19)
- 1 - New York (100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-54899) (LEON WOFSY) (7-2)
- 1 - New York (66-6989) (P & C) (7-4)

LETTER TO DIRECTOR

Re: CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CG 5824-S* advised that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was not present at this meeting and the informant was told by [redacted] and [redacted] that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER is "pretty much demoralized" and is staying at his residence in the country.

AGENDA

CG 5824-S* advised that there were three points on the agenda for this meeting:

1. A report on the Ohio CP district.

2. A discussion of the situation in the CP, USA in light of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the release of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV's report to the Executive Session, which was released by the US State Department. Also a discussion on a statement to be released on this subject by the National Board or as a personal statement by EUGENE DENNIS if this statement is adopted at this meeting.

3. A review of the latest primaries such as those in California and Florida.

The meeting broke up in a fight soon after MAX WEISS introduced the second point on the agenda, and a proposal for a night session was not passed. The meeting was adjourned until 6/8/56.

REPORT ON THE OHIO CP DISTRICT

CG 5824-S* advised that all four persons from Ohio, KRCHMAREK, LUMER, [redacted] and [redacted] made a portion of the report on the Ohio district.

Membership

[redacted] Prior to the first report on the Ohio district, [redacted] passed around two copies of a typewritten diagram showing the present registration of the CP in Ohio. After everyone

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LETTER TO DIRECTOR

Re: CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS-C

[redacted] present had looked at these diagrams they were returned to [redacted]. The diagram had a breakdown showing the comparison of CP registration with previous years, a breakdown by age, by sex, by color and so forth. CG 5824-S* was unable to make notes on these figures, but to the best of his recollection, the following figures appeared on this diagram:

In 1949 there were 750 CP members in Cleveland and 750 CP members in Ohio outside of the city of Cleveland. At the present time there are 370 CP members in Cleveland and 250 members in the rest of the state. While this totals 620, only 588 were broken down in this diagram. The diagram showed 355 males and 220 females, which totals only 575. There are 82 Negroes in the CP in Ohio, 83 members are in the AFL, 125 members in the CIO and 18 in independent unions. 54 are in the auto industry, 49 in the steel industry and 6 in the rubber industry. (It is noted that on the previous day [redacted] had stated that there are 60 CP members in the steel industry in the Ohio district).

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CG 5824-S* advised that as well as he can recall, the following is the age breakdown on this diagram:

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
18-25	21
26-35	136
36-45	185
46-55	102
56-65	91
65 and over	60

It is noted that this totals 595. [redacted] stated that the current registration in Ohio is 103 % of the registration for the previous year.

LETTER TO DIRECTOR

Re: CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS-C

Report by ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK stated that the Ohio CP district is "over the hump" compared with the last three years. He said that there has been a steady increase in registration, that women are more active, and that they have a task force consisting of nine women who are mobilizing women and getting them into mass organizational work. KRCHMAREK also stated that the CP in Ohio is engaged in a considerable amount of creative activity which is concrete and not in the abstract. They are also expanding educational and political activity.

According to KRCHMAREK, the Cleveland Smith Act trial won a lot of sympathy for the CP. He also stated that the court appointed counsel for the defendants, and that they are trying to get the brother of the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT to take their case on appeal.

KRCHMAREK stated that there have been losses in nationality groups in Ohio, partly as a result of the role played by displaced persons. However, he said that despite the disclosures of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, there has been no crisis in Jewish work and they have heard of no anti-Soviet speeches among Jewish groups or in synagogues. He said that the activity among Croatians is being increased. He mentioned that a recent banquet for Croatians attracted 250 people and was chaired by a non-CP member who is a member of the Croatian Fraternal Union. He stated that this shows new opportunities for working among the Croatians.

KRCHMAREK also reported that in Cleveland there are two reactionary weekly Czech newspapers which are going bankrupt and \$150,000 is needed to purchase these newspapers. He stated that this presents an opportunity to form a united front newspaper and with it to expand influence among the Czechs. KRCHMAREK stated that people in Czechoslovakia have made the mistake of inviting children of Czech parents in the US to visit Czechoslovakia during the summer months. KRCHMAREK stated that these invitations were extended through

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organizations of the Left, and that an error was made in confining the extending of the invitations to organizations by the Left. In concluding this part of his report, KRCHMAREK stated that a lot of work still has to be done among the nationality groups.

KRCHMAREK then discussed the primaries in Ohio. He said that the vote was light since there was no contest in most districts. He also stated that there is a fight between Governor LAUSCHE and [redacted]. He said that the trade unions are sitting this fight out. The Negro candidates are mainly on the Republican ticket; however, there is one Negro running for State Senator in Cincinnati.

Report by [redacted]

CG 5821-S* advised that [redacted] followed KRCHMAREK. [redacted] stated that despite Red baiting and the activity of the reformists, the Negroes have a lot of respect for the CP. He said that 14% of the membership of the CP in Ohio is Negro. He also stated that a considerable amount of ideological work is being carried on among the Negroes in Cleveland, Cedar Center, which is a point of concentration for work among Negroes. The Party is also contacting Negroes in other cities in an attempt to strengthen contacts with Negroes in industry, since these contacts are weak at the present time. He said that there has been an upsurge of activities among Negro people as a result of the ERLETT LOUIS TILL case.

[redacted] Speaking of the merger of the CIO and the AFL, [redacted] stated that a trade union Negro caucus was hastily planned and leftist mistakes were made in this regard. Trade union leaders urged Negroes not to participate in this caucus. As a result there were only 20 in attendance at the meeting. Later, with the help of some ministers, they reconvened and drew up a bill of particulars which contained the idea that Negroes must have the right to work, and that the living conditions of the Negro must be improved.

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In conclusion [redacted] stated that there is a possibility of electing a Negro Congressman, LOWES (ph), since there is a possibility of forming a united front coalition with regard to his campaign.

Report by [redacted]

CG 5824-S* advised that [redacted] also opened his report with a show of optimism. He stated that there is no crisis in the Ohio district as a result of the discussion on the 20th Congress of the CPSU. He also stated that it is too early to judge reaction to the recent National Committee meeting, but that thus far the membership in Ohio agrees with the main line as set forth in the National Committee meeting.

Turning to Party organization, [redacted] stated that they are thinking about organizing the Party to correspond with assembly districts, and that the sections of the Party would be re-formed on the basis of Congressional districts. They have organization instructors who leave Cleveland for other cities over the weekend in order to teach people how to organize in the smaller cities.

[redacted] stated that there is a District or State Committee and a District or State Board functioning in Ohio. In addition, there is a County Committee and County Board in Cleveland. There are also some commissions in existence. There is an Industrial Division which may be replaced with a Trade Union Commission.

[redacted] also discussed the fact that he will be leaving the Ohio CP district. He stated that he asked to be relieved by the time the District Committee for the Ohio district meets in August. He also stated that he does not believe that it is necessary to bring in a new district chairman from outside of Ohio. He proposed KIRCHMAREK as the District Chairman or District Organizer; HY LUMER as the Executive Secretary and [redacted] as the person in charge of Negro work.

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CG 5824-S* advised that at this point some persons, particularly BEN DAVIS, stated that they were opposed to the release of [redacted] HY LUMER declined the position of Executive Secretary, stating that he would prefer to do educational work for which he is better qualified. EUGENE DENNIS disclosed that the Administrative Committee for the national office agreed to release [redacted] because of compelling personal reasons. It was finally agreed to accept this decision, although the agreement was not unanimous. The Ohio district representatives also stated that they do not want anyone brought in from the outside for a position of leadership in the district. DENNIS stated that he thought that the Ohio district should settle the question of leadership in its district.

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Report by HY LUMER

CG 5824-S* advised that HY LUMER's report dealt with educational work. He stated that they currently have some temporary classes and hope to establish some type of an organized school at a later date.

Concerning publications, LUMER stated that they hope to revise the Party bulletin. They are also circulating shop papers and LUMER stated that these papers are being read. He also stated that the comrades in the shops agree that shop papers are very valuable. They plan to have a celebration soon in honor of the 30th anniversary of the "Spark Plug."

In conclusion LUMER stated that 200 copies of "Political Affairs" are circulated in Ohio; 400 copies of "The Worker" are circulated in Cleveland. The circulation of "The Worker" outside of Cleveland is insignificant. There are 150 subscriptions to the "Daily Worker" in Ohio.

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Discussion on the Report on the Ohio CP District

CG 5824-S* advised that those present at this National Board meeting criticized the report on the Ohio CP District as being too one-sided. It was stated that listening to the Ohio leaders would make one think that they do not have a crisis such as the other CP districts are faced with. Furthermore, they never explained the [redacted] phenomenon. Until they can explain [redacted] it will show that they are weak on political work.

JOHN GATES was very sharp in his attack on the Ohio state leadership. He stated that perhaps the Party ought to send other leaders to Ohio to see "never never land." GATES stated that morale building speeches are not needed in the National Board, and that it is necessary to be self-critical.

[redacted] and others joined in this type of criticism, until JACK STACHEL stated that even a little progress should not be ignored. STACHEL said, however, that it should be noted that their progress has been small, and that they are working mostly with individuals instead of clubs in industry, which is a good sign.

At this point in the discussion, DENNIS took a cue from STACHEL'S remarks and, according to the informant, may have been playing politics with the following remarks. DENNIS stated that while the Ohio District may not be "over the hump" in every sense of this phrase, they have made progress over the past 3 years. "The Cleveland Smith Act trial made friends and created sympathy for the CP." "We must encourage every bit of progress and perhaps we are being too critical of the Ohio District."

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The Ohio District representatives also defended their position, stating that it was unfair to compare their district with the NY District, and that they would investigate the ideology of some Party members in the NY District. They admitted that there has been some criticism of the Ohio leadership. Last week KRCHMAREK and [redacted] had to go to Cincinnati to deal with some CP members who had criticized [redacted] [redacted] had ordered them to bring about the defeat of a Congressman who is on the House Committee on Un-American Activities. [redacted] stated that they "wiped the floor with him".

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for making such an impossible demand. As a result [redacted]
had to admit that he had been in error in making this
demand.

CG 5824-S* commented that most of those present
at this meeting were not satisfied with the report on the
Ohio District, and that all except EUGENE DENNIS and [redacted]
[redacted] joined in the criticism that the report was too one-
sided.

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Discussion of the Situation in the CP in Light of the
20th Congress of the CPSU and the Release of NIKITA
KHRUSHCHEV'S Report to the Executive Session

CG 5824-S* advised that MAX WEISS opened the
discussion on the 2nd point of the agenda with the intro-
duction of the following draft statement concerning the
release by the US State Department of the speech of NIKITA
KHRUSHCHEV to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of
the CPSU:

"The publication by the State Department
of the text of K rushchev's speech to a closed
session of the 20th Congress of the CPSU has
given a fresh impetus to the already wide-spread
discussions in our country about the changes
taking place in the Soviet Union.

"The tendency of these discussions, in
fact, prompted the State Department to make
this text public for, regardless of ideologi-
cal differences with Communism, the people of
our country are beginning to see ever more
clearly that vast changes are taking place
with the Soviet Union. They greet these
changes. And the State Department is alarmed.
It would like our people to believe that nothing
has changed in the Soviet Union. Only in this
way does it see any hope for keeping alive the
disintegrating remnants of the cold war.

"But as had often been noted, the State
Department continues to live in an unreal world.
The real world of nations and peoples anxious
for peaceful coexistence welcomes the determin-
ation expressed in Khrushchev's speed to end a

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"period of Soviet life in which the noble and lofty aspirations of Socialism were distorted by brutalities and injustices. It is this determination to make impossible a repetition of the crimes against individuals, groups, and nations which took place during the Stalin era which increasingly impresses the American people. It is beginning to evoke an expectant and sympathetic attitude among larger sections of the American people to every move by the Soviet leaders to implement this determination.

"The growth of this mood among the American people is what puts the State Department in a cold sweat. It was in the vain hope of checking this mood that the State Department published Khrushchev's speech to the closed session of the 20th Congress.

"The State Department wants the American people to believe that the tragedies, crimes and injustices which took place during the Stalin era are evils which are inherent in Socialism. But it is absurd to think that the Cadillac Cabinet or its State Department is opposed to Socialism because of this, even if it were true - which it is not. Franco's crimes against the Spanish people does not prevent the State Department from extolling the 'merits of Fascist Spain.' The unspeakable corruption, degeneracy and rottenness of Chiang Kai Shek does not seem to bother the State Department.

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"The Cadillac Cabinet and its State Department hate the Soviet Union for a different reason. They hate it because under Socialism there is no production for profit, because the factories, mines and mills, are taking away from the millionaires and owned collectively by the people. Socialism abolishes the profit system and exploitation. That is the inherent evil of Socialism which makes them hate it.

"The crimes against innocent people perpetrated under Stalin's leadership are, in fact, alien to Socialism. They interfered with the full development of Socialism, with its most rapid progress. That is why the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is acting resolutely to put a stop to them, to inaugurate changes which will make them forever impossible within the future. Socialism requires an ever-expanding democracy, the growth of human freedom and personal liberties, the development of conditions which ultimately eliminate altogether the need for the use of force in the relations between people.

"We Communists know this. We have been and will continue to be the proud supporters of Socialism in every country in which it exists. We have fought and we will continue to fight against the efforts of big business to calumniate and verify the Socialist countries. We are not and never will be neutral in our attitude to any country in which the people are building Socialism. Our patriotism is deepened by our internationalism.

"That is why we, above all, are profoundly disturbed by the revelations which began to be

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"made at the 20th Congress and are contained in Khrushchev's speech. The abhorrent brutalities listed by Khrushchev as taking place over a span of 20 years haunt the conscience of all adherents of Socialism.

"A basic analysis of how such perversions of Socialist democracy and justice were permitted to develop and continue unchecked for so long must still be made by the leadership of the CPSU. Khrushchev's speech makes only a beginning in fulfilling this responsibility toward the Soviet people and to the supporters of Socialism throughout the world.

"But our own Communist Party also has some serious conclusions to draw from these revelations. For we are responsible to the working class and people of our own country. And to them we say frankly and self-critically that we blindly justified certain foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet Union which are now shown to have been wrong and harmful to the cause of Socialism. Our mistakes on this score weakened our fight to advance the cause of Socialism in our own country. It interfered with our ability to more effectively rally wide masses for a policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, a policy which is called for by the best national interests of our own country.

"Our responsibility, which we began to discuss at our last National Committee meeting is to re-examine our previously over-simplified concept of the relations which should exist between the Marxists of various countries, including the Socialist countries.

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"This re-examination will strengthen the ability of our Party to advance the struggles of the American people for economic security, democratic freedoms, civil rights, a democratic foreign policy, and the building of a mass party of Socialism in our country."

Remarks by MAX WEISS

WEISS stated that he would not go into all the implications of the State Department document. He stated that KHRUSHCHEV'S speech was for Party members, and that the CPSU could not destroy the STALIN cult without this type of speech. He said that the publication of KHRUSHCHEV'S speech will have an emotional impact on CP members everywhere, especially within the US.

WEISS then criticized an editorial in the 6/7/56 issue of the "Daily Worker," stating that it is an apology for the existence of the CP. He said that we cannot be judged only on the policy of the Soviet Union. We have to be judged by the policies we propose for the American people. WEISS stated that we must handle problems in a way so that we do not cringe and create a situation where we are putting Party people on the defense. Concerning the printing of the entire State Department text of the speech of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV in the 6/10/56 issue of "The Worker," WEISS stated that it is correct to print abstracts of KHRUSHCHEV'S speech, but that it is not correct to print the full State Department text. WEISS stated that the Party should acknowledge that it was forced to print some of KHRUSHCHEV'S speech as released by the State Department, but that it was wrong to rub salt in the wounds by printing the full text.

WEISS also stated that it should be kept in mind that the US Government may have a plan to disclose or release other documents, and that the text of KHRUSHCHEV'S speech may be followed by other releases by the State Department.

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WEISS said that the CP must be more dignified and deal with things as they arise without at all times publishing the gory details.

Discussion Concerning a Letter Written by [redacted]
District Organizer of Connecticut, to the Chinese Government

At this point WEISS questioned the advisability of publishing [redacted] letter to the Chinese Government asking for freedom for an American airman whom the Chinese are holding. WEISS asked what business it is of a District Organizer to meddle in such affairs and embarrass another Socialist country.

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WEISS stated that even the editorials in the "Daily Worker" concerning [redacted] went too far in that they were an attempt to tell a Socialist government what it should do. He then asked who had given [redacted] permission to do such a thing, stating that it was all wrong for [redacted] to have done this. When JOHN GATES replied that he had given permission to [redacted] WEISS told GATES that he was just as damn wrong as [redacted] and that this was not something that an individual could grant authority for.

CG 5824-S* stated that the fight got hot at this point with everyone talking at once. CARL WINTER stated that as a member of the National Committee that he did not want people granting authority to do things in his name without consulting him. Everybody shouted that more time was needed to fully discuss this matter. MAX WEISS stated that he had another engagement and could not possibly stay for an evening session. CARL WINTER stated that since he came in from Detroit he felt that more time should be spent in discussing the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the situation inside the Party while he is in NY. A proposal that an evening session be held was voted down. A proposal by EUGENE DENNIS that the session run to 7:30 P.M. was also voted down, and it was finally decided to continue the discussion on Friday, 6/8/56.

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Just before the session concluded JOHN GATES was asked whether the presses could be stopped so that the full text of the State Department's release on the speech of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV would not be printed in the 6/10/56 issue of "The Worker." GATES stated that since an announcement had been made in the "Daily Worker" that it would be printed, it would do more harm now if the speech was not printed in "The Worker." He asked what the membership of the CP would think if this were done. Answering his own question, he stated that they would think that the national leadership is a bunch of fools.

Comments of CG 5824-S*

CG 5824-S* asked JOHN GATES if he had been shown material containing quotations from the speech of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress to the CPSU which is in the possession of EUGENE DENNIS. GATES stated that he had not seen this material. On the basis of GATES' reply, CG 5824-S* is of the opinion that EUGENE DENNIS has not shown this material to very many, if any, of the CP leaders, since it could be assumed that he would show it to GATES if he showed it to anyone.

GATES did say that the CP knows that the release by the US State Department is exact, otherwise the Soviet Union would have denied that it is authentic.

SAC, MEMPHIS (100-2198)

6/27/56

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

CP, USA - Membership
IS - C

Reurlet to Bureau 6/12/56.

It is noted that a copy of relet was designated for a New York file "CP - Southern Regional Committee". It is suggested that any future memorandum concerning the Southern Regional Committee be designated for the New York file entitled "CP, USA - Organization (NY 100-80641)".

2 - Memphis (100-2198) (RM)
1 - New York (100-80638)

JWV:rvj
(3)

100-80638-1084

Charge-out
FD-5 (10-10-55)

Transfer sheet

FILE

Pending Closed

Classification	Case No.	Last Serial	Date
100	80638		8/1/66

Serials and dates requested

1085

Transferred to 100-10857-12

RECHARGE

Employee *jms*

To	From	Date

Employee

Location

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: 6-29-56

Extreme care should be used in handling
and reporting the following information in order
to protect the identity of the informant.

Registered

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Albany (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Membership)
- 2 - Atlanta (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Membership)
- 4 - Buffalo (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Membership)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Strategy in Industry)
(1 - 100-)(Cominfil, USWA)
- 2 - Charlotte (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Membership)
- 2 - Cincinnati (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Membership)
- 2 - Cleveland (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Membership)
- 2 - Dallas (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Membership)
- 3 - Detroit (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-16906)(CP - Membership)
(1 - 100-13420)(CARL WINTER)
- 2 - El Paso (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Membership)
- 2 - Houston (Registered)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - Membership)

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100-80638-1086

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JULY 5 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Waters J.W.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

(Cont.)

- 1 - Knoxville (Registered)
(100-) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Registered)
(1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Miami (Registered)
(1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
- 3 - Newark (Registered)
(1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
(1 - 100-2974) [redacted]
- 2 - New Orleans (Registered)
(1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
(1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
- 37 - New York (Registered)
(1 - 100-80641) (CP - Organization) (#19)
(1 - 100-74560) (CP - Fund) (#19)
(1 - 100-80640) (CP - Negro Question) (#19)
(1 - 100-81338) (CP - Security Measures) (#19)
(1 - 100-81675) (CP - Pamphlets and Publications) (#19)
(1 - 100-79717) (CP - Political Activities) (#19)
(1 - 100-89691) (CP - Domestic Administration Issues) (#19)
(1 - 100-86624) (CP - International Relations) (#19)
(1 - 100-89590) (CP - Strategy in Industry) (#19)
(1 - 100-80638) (CP - Membership) (#19)
(1 - 100-26603) (CP - District #2)
(1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press)
(1 - 100-) (Cominfil, ILWU)
(1 - 100-84935) (Cominfil, Railroad Industry)
(1 - 100-) (Cominfil, NAACP)
(1 - 100-) (Cominfil, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America)
(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
(1 - 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG)
(1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.)
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)
(1 - 100-110840) [redacted]
(1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE)
(1 - 100-19723) (JOHN GATES)
(1 - 100-50983) [redacted]
(1 - 100-64755) [redacted]
(1 - 100-23290) [redacted]
(1 - 100-28609) [redacted]

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(Cont. page 1b)

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

(Cont.)

(1 - 100-9573) (NEMMY SPARKS)
(1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
(1 - 100-50090) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-66211) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-20649) (ED STRONG)
(1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS)
(1 - 100-54899) (LEON WOFSY)
(1 - 100-81752) (CP - Brief)
(1 - 100-) (CP - Line)
2 - Norfolk (Registered)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
3 - Philadelphia (Registered)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
 (1 - 100-7800) (ED STRONG)
2 - Pittsburgh (Registered)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
2 - Richmond (Registered)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
2 - San Antonio (Registered)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
2 - San Diego (Registered)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
5 - San Francisco (Registered)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
 (1 - 100-) (Cominfil, ILWU)
 (1 - 100-) (LOUISE TODD LAMBERT)
 (1 - 100-) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
2 - Savannah (Registered)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Organization)
 (1 - 100-) (CP - Membership)
5 - Chicago
 (1 - A)134-46
 (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
 (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)
 (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE MACK LIGHTFOOT)

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Jek
JEK:MKR
(97)

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Re New York tel captioned, "CP, USA - ORGANIZATION; CINAL" dated June 25, 1956. This tel contained a summary of information concerning the proceedings on the third and last day of sessions of the three day meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA which was held in the Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City, from June 22 through June 24, 1956.

The following constitutes the details of the proceedings of this third day of the meeting as furnished by CG 5824-S* to SA JOHN E. KEATING on June 24, 1956:

Persons in Attendance

CG 5824-S* advised that the following persons were in attendance at the session held on Sunday, June 24, 1956:

PHIL BART
AL BLUMBERG
MORRIS CHILDS
BEN DAVIS, JR.
EUGENE DENNIS

[REDACTED]
FRED FINE
JOHN GATES
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]
WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

[REDACTED]
NEMMY SPARKS
JACK STACHEL

[REDACTED]
ED STRONG

[REDACTED]
MAX WEISS
CARL WINTER
LEON WOFSY

b6
b7C

Informant advised that ED STRONG was the Chairman of the Sunday session.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Statement of the National Committee
of the CP, USA

It will be recalled that at the Saturday, June 23, 1956 session of this National Committee meeting, there was a sharp debate concerning what should be contained in a statement to be issued by the CP, USA in regard to the speech by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of the CP, SU. A committee of four consisting of JOHN GATES, WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, MAX WEISS, and CARL WINTER had been appointed on June 23 to prepare a compromise statement and have it ready prior to the session of Sunday, June 24, 1956.

This committee of four brought in a compromise statement and stated that this statement had the unanimous consent of this committee of four. A few copies of this statement were passed around at this meeting and the committee of four announced that if this statement was adopted at this meeting it should be adopted prior to 3:00 p.m. so that it could be released to the press.

Since the statement was an obvious compromise, except for a few changes by EUGENE DENNIS in the choice of words, no other changes were suggested and this National Committee meeting adopted this statement unanimously.

CG 5824-S* had learned that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT had told EUGENE DENNIS, in a private conversation, that DENNIS should give in a little on his previous stand against criticism of Russia.

The following is the complete text of this statement which was released to the press and will be circulated among the membership of the CP, USA for the purpose of showing that the leadership of the Party is not split on policy toward Russia:

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

"MONDAY AM, JUNE 25, 1956

"STATEMENT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

"Adopted at its regular meeting in New York City
on June 24th, 1956

"The publication of the State Department's text of Khrushchev's speech to a closed session of the 20th Congress of the CPSU has given a fresh impetus to the already widespread discussions in our country about the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

"The State Department would like Americans to believe that nothing has changed in the Soviet Union. It hopes to cancel out the positive impact of the 20th Congress, which registered, among other things, a new relationship of world forces, opening up for the first time in history, the real prospect for a lasting peace. It hopes in this way to keep alive the disintegrating remnants of the cold war.

"However, the people of our country who desire peaceful coexistence cannot but welcome the actions taken by the Soviet government since Stalin's death as well as the determination expressed in Khrushchev's speech to end the brutalities and injustices which marred a period of Soviet life.

"The State Department wants the American people to believe that the tragedies, crimes and injustices which took place during the Stalin era are evils which are inherent in socialism.

"But the crimes against innocent people perpetrated under Stalin's leadership are, in fact, alien to socialism. They were an intolerable hindrance to the advance of socialism. Socialism is dedicated to the liberation of mankind from social injustice and to releasing the full capacities for the flowering of humanity. It requires

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an ever-expanding democracy, the growth of human freedom and personal liberties, the development of conditions which will ultimately eliminate altogether the use of force in the relations between people.

"We have been and will continue to be the proud supporters of socialism everywhere. We have fought and will continue to fight against the efforts of big business to calumniate and vilify the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

"We Communists know that socialism must eradicate the inhumanity of capitalist society. That is why we, above all, are deeply shocked by the revelations contained in Khrushchev's speech.

"In our opinion this speech should have been made public by the CPSU itself. We do not share the view that the questions dealt with, no matter how painful and abhorrent, are exclusively the internal affair of the CPSU. The role which the Soviet Union has played in world affairs for the last 40 years, and the defense of its socialist achievements by workers in the US and other countries have made these matters public issues everywhere.

"A basic analysis of how such perversions of socialist democracy, justice and internationalism were permitted to develop and continue unchecked for twenty years must still be made by the leadership of the CPSU.

It needs also to be made by Marxists everywhere. Krushchev's contribution to the exposure of mistakes and to the process of correction now going on, makes only a beginning in this direction.

"We cannot accept an analysis of such profound mistakes which attributes them solely to the capricious aberrations of a single individual, no matter how much arbitrary power he was wrongly permitted to usurp. It is just as wrong to ascribe all the mistakes and violations of socialist principle to a single individual as it was to ascribe to him all the achievements and grandeur of socialist progress in the USSR.

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"In our opinion the mistakes made were primarily a result of wrong policies and concepts arising in part out of the fact that the Soviet Union was the pioneering land of socialism and was surrounded for decades by a hostile capitalist world. Some of these policies and concepts have already been repudiated. But the historic objective factors associated with these errors need to be more fully assessed. Also required is a further and deeper examination of such questions as the structure and operation of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as of the new problems and perspectives arising as the workers of other lands move toward Socialism. This will illuminate the source of past errors and help avoid future ones.

"We are deeply disturbed by facts revealed in information coming from Poland that organs and media of Jewish culture were summarily dissolved and a number of their leaders executed. This is contrary to the Soviet Union's historic contributions on the Jewish question. Khrushchev's failures to deal with these outrages, and the continuing silence of Soviet leaders, requires an explanation.

"The Communist Party of the US has some serious conclusions to draw from all this. For we are responsible to the working class and people of our own country. And to them we admit frankly that we uncritically justified many foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet Union which are now shown to be wrong.

"We have begun to reexamine our previously oversimplified and wrong concept of the relations which should exist between the Marxists of various countries, including the socialist countries. These relations must be based on the principles of serving the best national interests of each people and the common interests of all progressive humanity; of the equality of parties; of the right and duty of the Marxists of all countries to engage in friendly criticism of the theory or practice of the Marxists of any country, whenever they feel this is necessary. Far from weakening, this will strengthen international working class solidarity. This new approach was reflected in the DW as early as last March as well as in the position adopted by the national Committee at the end of April.

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"Our stand is rooted in the primary concern of our Party for the present and future welfare of the American people. As an independent Marxist party of American workers dedicated to socialism, we seek to add our influence to ensuring friendship of peoples and world peace. We shall continue to work for greater economic security, democracy, and civil rights in our own country, and for unity with all socialist-minded groups to attain socialism by constitutional, peaceful means, expressing the free choice of the majority of the American people."

Report on Organization by [redacted]
Organizational [redacted] of the
New York CP District

Informant advised that a report on the status of the Party organization in the New York District was delivered by [redacted] Organizational [redacted] of the New York CP District. This report was to be a part of the general discussion on Party organization at this meeting. [redacted] stated that there is a question which continually appears at all Party meetings in the New York District. He stated that the membership is asking whether or not it is necessary to make such an agonizing reappraisal of our Party. The membership is also asking if we would be making this reappraisal if it had not been for the issues raised by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV in his speech to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of the CP, SU.

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[redacted]'s answer to these questions was that we would be making such a reappraisal. He said that such a reappraisal would be necessary even if the 20th Congress of the CP, SU had never been held. Explaining this, [redacted] stated that there is a changed situation in the United States which was favorable to the CP. Despite this fact, the isolation of the Party from the masses continues. Commenting on those things which are favorable to the Party in the United States, he mentioned the following:

The defeat of Mc Carthyism.

The united labor movement.

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The holding of the Geneva Conference, and what he called the growing moods of struggle on the part of the working class.

[redacted] stated that he would discuss the following propositions in his report:

Where is the Communist Party in the United States today?

What is the position of the masses in the United States today?

How do the masses view the CP?

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Did the 20th Congress of the CP, SU add to the moral crisis of the CP?

Has the constant change in the national leadership of the CP, USA added to this crisis?

Is the Party disintegrating?

Is there no hope for the CP in the United States?

With regard to the last question, [redacted] stated that in his opinion the CP is not disintegrating and that there is still some hope for the CP in the United States. He stated that the Party still has positions of influence in the trade union movement and in the people's movement.

[redacted] comments on registration and dues in the New York CP District

[redacted] next went into a discussion of the registration and explained that the Party registration for 1956 is really a two year registration since the New York District did not have a registration in 1954 for the year 1955. He stated that two-thirds of the membership of the CP in the New York District were lost during the last ten years. [redacted] then stated the following figures which were later disputed by [redacted]
[redacted] of the New York CP District:

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[redacted] claimed that in 1946 the New York CP District had 30,000 members but by 1950 this membership figure had dropped to 24,000. He did not give the current registration figures for the New York District until the conclusion of his remarks but he did say that 88 per cent of the membership in the New York District has been registered.

According to [redacted], one-third of the membership of the New York District also belong to industrial organizations. He stated that one-third of the membership attends meetings regularly. One-third or less of the membership carries on sustained activity. He then commented that the Party is getting older because two-thirds of the Party membership in New York is now at least 40 years of age.

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[redacted] stated that dues payments can be considered as being fair to good. He said that during 1955 the New York District had an 85 per cent dues payment. For the first five months of 1956, the dues payments are averaging 62 per cent. He expects, however, that there will be a drop in the percentage of dues payments until the next registration in the fall of 1956 since the 62 per cent represents dues collected during the registration which began during the latter part of 1955 and carried over into the first part of 1956.

[redacted]'s comments on the reasons for losses in membership

[redacted] asked why there has been such a loss of Party membership. He said that these losses are due to objective conditions. He said that there have been many attacks not only on the Party itself but also on individual Party members. He said that this stands out as the most important reason for losses in membership. [redacted] then stated that many former Party members are friendly toward the Party but refuse to formally join the Party at this time. Many of these people are working in trade unions and other mass organizations. He urged that these former members be kept in mind. He stated that the Party should not lose contact with them.

[redacted] then went on to explain that there were some mistakes which contributed to the losses and to the status of organization in the New York District. He stated that one of

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the main errors was that of sectarianism and adventurism particularly in the electrical industry and in the Negro field and in the mass movements.

[redacted] then stated that many hundreds of members in the New York District were unjustly expelled from the Party and that this greatly contributed to the loss in membership. He then gave an example to show what he meant by adventurism in the Party program. He stated that in 1951 the New York District had a club active in the Longshoremen's Union and that this club was very active. Despite the activity, this club had no deep roots on the docks since they were new to this type of work. The Party involved this group in some dramatic fights and before the Party could do anything about it every single member was lost to the Party either because they were fired from their jobs or were expelled from the union.

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[redacted] went on to explain that the same adventurism characterized Party activity in the Brewery, Teamsters, and Transport Workers Unions although the Party was able to save some of its members by transferring them to community organizations where they are now doing some good work. [redacted] said that as a result of this adventurism many Party members, who should be in industrial organizations, are in community organizations since they do not trust the industrial organizations of the CP. They expect that if they were in an industrial organization they would be pushed into some adventurism and, as a result, would either lose their jobs or their standing in the union. On the other hand, they can work quietly in a community organization and eliminate these fears.

[redacted] With regard to losses of membership from expulsions, [redacted] stated that the CP incorrectly estimated the Fascist danger. As a result of this incorrect estimate, for security reasons, the New York District dropped a few thousand members who were considered untrustworthy and not strong enough to withstand repression. Concerning losses of the Negro membership, [redacted] stated that these losses were due chiefly to left sectarianism. He stated that in every Negro community we put the Negro comrades into left field and isolated them from the Party and from the mass organizations of the

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community. We also put them into left centers where they were further isolated. Next [redacted] stated that the gross distortions in the fight against white chauvinism also helped to lose Negro members. He asked what Negro member would want to join a Party which was considered to be full of white chauvinists. He stated that the Negro gained the impression that the Party was composed of many white chauvinists in view of our excesses in the fight against this deviation.

Current Activities in the
New York CP District

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[redacted] asked what has happened to the remaining membership in the New York District. He said that since the Party's draft resolution of 3½ years ago the New York District of the CP has been anchoring its membership in the mass organizations, the trade unions, and the basic industries. He stated that in the New York District one-third of the membership in the community organizations now function through right led mass organizations of the people. He said that they have many united front relationships. It was this anchoring of the Party in the right led organizations plus the United Front Program which has speeded the fight against reaction.

[redacted] also stated that the Party has a new concept of Negro-white unity. He said that when the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision with regard to desegregation, the CP, through a series of united front mass meetings and other organized events in many areas and cities, was able to rally thousands of people and was also able to involve officials of large organizations and officials of some cities in support of this desegregation order.

[redacted] then talked about the building of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He stated that the New York District of the Party has obtained some excellent results with regard to the NAACP. He stated that there is a Negro leader in the food industry who he characterized as having been at one time active in a left center. He stated that this person, by himself, recruited 500 people into the NAACP. [redacted] then cited some examples of experiences in the field of political action as a result of the Party's work within mass organizations. He stated that the Party has influence in the Typographical Union and, as a result, was able to get this union to participate in two Congressional

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campaigns which resulted in the defeat of the reactionary candidates. [redacted] stated that the Party has also strengthened itself as a result of correcting its sectarian approach concerning Israel and attributed this correction to the fact that the Party membership is now working in mass organizations. He stated that the Party would never have arrived at a correct policy with regard to Israel if it had not been for the fact that Party members working in mass organizations, were able to bring pressure upon the Party which resulted in corrected policy. In other words, members working in mass organizations have been able to get the Party to adopt a correct policy.

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Turning his attention to trade unions, [redacted] stated that in the trade unions the CP is winning back some influence which it had lost as a result of the fact that Party members were expelled from unions when the "left" lost control. He stated that Party members are now working through regular trade union machinery and that they are sinking their roots and expanding the Party's influence in trade unions.

He stated that the Party is developing a new and rising cadre and that this cadre knows how to work among the masses in a manner which will bring prestige not only to themselves but also to the Party. He stated that the main emphasis is being placed on workers in industry. There is not a concentration in the old sense of the word nor is there an emphasis on shop papers. Citing examples, he stated that the Party's work in the railroad and Longshoremen's Unions are the best examples of the current work being done by the New York District in industry. He stated that in the past the Party had made a lot of noise in the Longshoremen's Union and in the railroad unions but that the Party's activity was primarily limited to the issuing of bulletins and that the Party organization among railroad workers and Longshoremen was practically non-existent. This situation has been changed. He said that the New York District now has good organization in both of these industries. He stated that the CP in New York has 35 people actively organized in the Longshoremen's industry. It has 30 people active in the Teamsters Union and 70 people active in the railroad industry.

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He stated that the New York District's activity in the steel industry is primarily centered in the Buffalo area and that there are 34 Communists active in steel in that area. He also stated that the Party's activity in the electrical industry is also centered in upstate New York; however, he did not have any current figures on the number of members in the District who are active in the electrical industry. He stated that the new type of work in industry has had some affect on rebuilding the Party. He stated that some oldtimers have been activated by the injection of new blood into districts and organizations of the Party.

Turning his attention briefly to Buffalo, he stated that a new cadre has been introduced into the Party in Buffalo. As a result of this, there has been a phenomenal rise in the mass work of the comrades in that city.

[redacted] said that the policy of shifting members to industry and into mass organizations is paying off. He said that we need to have patience with and confidence in CP members who are active in industry. He also stated that at the end of the summer the New York CP District plans to shift over 1,000 additional members from community organizations into industrial organizations.

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[redacted] stated, however, that he had to say that there are still some small pockets of resistance in the Party against going into industries and into mass organizations. Some Party members are still questioning the liquidation of the left centers. Other Party members are also charging the District leadership with giving up the American Labor Party. He said that other old Party members are sitting it out and are waiting to see what will happen.

[redacted]'s comments on organization, funds, and the status of the "Daily Worker"

[redacted] said that in the past we gave exaggerated objectives to the various organizations of the Party. Many times these objectives were beyond the capacity of these organizations. The result of this was discouragement. As an

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example of this, he cited the recent struggle for civil rights. He said that when the Party was discussing the march on Washington it made the statement that thousands of people would be mobilized for the trip of the NAACP to Washington. According to [redacted] even as these statements were being made it was obvious that thousands could not be mobilized for such a trip. As a result, when numbers far short of this were actually mobilized, it had a very discouraging effect upon Party members.

In regard to finances, he said that we also give the Party membership tasks well beyond their capabilities. He then went into a discussion of the financial situation. He said that we need drastic changes of financial policy within the CP. According to [redacted] only 50 per cent of the goal has been raised during the financial drive of the New York District. He said that if they try to maintain the contemplated budget that the Party will be in bankruptcy in the New York District in a short time. Because of this, the New York District is undertaking serious cuts in personnel. At the present time there are 29 full time Party employees in the New York District. The plan is to reduce this number from 29 to 16. They want to have four full time people operating on a District level and two full time people working in each county in the New York City area. He said that 75 per cent of the budget of the New York District is eaten up by administrative costs such as wages, the "Daily Worker", and defense expenses.

The biggest problem of all, according to [redacted] is the "Daily Worker." He said that the "Daily Worker" is a most invaluable instrument in the current discussions in the CP. This is true because the paper can be shown to persons outside of the Party ranks. He stated, however, that it is necessary for the Party to make an analysis of the "Daily Worker" and decide whether or not the paper can be maintained. He suggested that after the Party's National Convention that the National leadership consider the abandoning of the "Daily Worker" and the bringing forth of a new weekly paper. He said that it would be much better to have a weekly paper with a circulation of 60,000 or 70,000 than to have a daily paper which not only has a fraction of this circulation but is also a tremendous burden upon the Party.

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[redacted] again discussed exaggerated goals and the fact that these exaggerated goals are stumbling blocks to Party progress. He also stated that there are other stumbling blocks in the Party and mentioned the lack of review on policy questions such as the economic situation, the work among Negroes, the form and structure of the Party, Party democracy, and industrial and trade union work. He said that the Party has been drifting too much and that the Party leadership is not writing enough material on these important issues. He also stated that the membership in the New York District is questioning the ability of the national leadership and stated that morale of some of the membership is very low.

[redacted] then discussed leading policy committees. He stated that the membership wants to know how these policy committees are constituted. He said they have to be told that for the most part these committees consist of full time Party people. As a result of this, some of the members want to change the composition of leading committees. They state that persons active in mass organizations, who have their ear to developments in the mass movement, should be placed on these policy making committees. He then stated that the leading committees of the Party should not "hug all the lower organizations of the Party to their chest." He also said that differences on policy should be fought out not only in the higher committees but also on lower levels. Trade union policy should be made by Party members active in the particular trade union.

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[redacted] then stated that the New York District is making some progress in this regard. The specific policy is now being made by people in various industries. According to [redacted] the following questions are being raised by the Party membership:

Do we need a monolithic party?

Do we need a Party with an iron discipline?

He stated that personally he thinks that we have mistakenly transferred the Russian experience and concept of organization to our country. This is incorrect inasmuch as different conditions exist in this country and also because

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we have left out the democratic tradition of the United States in our concept of organization. He stated that the monolithic form of organization clashes with democracy at any time policy is being made. He said that the higher bodies in the Party organization should listen to the suggestions which come from the lower organizations and should make changes in policy based upon these suggestions. He also stated that as a result of expecting unity among the leadership of the Party there results a certain formalism and rigidity.

According to [redacted] what the Party needs is a system of majority rule. The Party should allow for an area of differences before carrying out the majority policy. He also stated that once the Party adopts a constitution it should adhere to it. If any changes are made, they should not be made in violation of the constitution as was done during the past few years. In this connection, he stated that the Party should abolish the principle of cooptation.

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[redacted] then discussed the idea of a new party of Socialism. He said that in the past the CP in the United States had open to it many avenues of struggle; however, at the present time, practically speaking, the Party is illegal. Only a handful of people can identify themselves to the workers and to their neighbors as Communists. In this regard, he stated that most CP clubs in upstate New York are functional clubs. He said that the Party in Buffalo is illegal except for the Organizer who is a full time employee.

[redacted] said that some good work is being done in shop clubs in Buffalo and that they are able to discuss some issues such as wages and other issues pertaining to working conditions in industry, but that the membership cannot identify themselves as Communists. [redacted] thinks that the Party cannot continue to exist in this manner. He said that recently he had interviewed 75 Party people in upstate New York. Out of this total of 75, only a handful had been able to hold onto a job for five years. As soon as it was discovered that they were "lefts", "Reds", or Communists, they were fired.

With regard to mass movements, he said that if anyone should identify himself as a Communist he would be expelled from the movement. For this reason the New York

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District will encourage functional clubs for the time being and will not disband them although it is realized that this is not the best form of Party organization. He also stated that community clubs should carry on concentration work but that in many instances not enough of the members of these clubs are active in mass organizations.

Continuing, [redacted] said that even in the old days when the Party had more of a legal status than at present, very few trade union members would come forward and identify themselves as Communists. Because of that he said that we need the following:

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1. Some mass form of Socialist expression on the part of trade unionists and shop workers.
2. Forms of Democratic expression within the Party itself.
3. We need to speak up against the Soviet Union in a manner similar to the recent line of the "Daily Worker." He said that we need to do away with the idea that we are parroting the Soviet Union or other Communist Parties. This will help to minimize the charge that the CP of the USA is a foreign agency.

National CP membership and current membership figures for several CP Districts

CG 5824-S* advised that when [redacted] completed his report, the National Organization Commission of the CP presented a set of figures to the National Committee on the blackboard. These figures were written by [redacted]. [redacted] indicated that in 1955 the New York CP District had 9,000 members. Thus far, the New York District has registered 8,800 members in 1956.

In 1955, Illinois had a registration of 1,000 members. In 1956, Illinois shows an official registration of 900 members.

In 1955, Michigan had a total registration of 300. Thus far, in 1956 Michigan has a total membership of 251.

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although the Michigan District claims that its registration is not yet complete.

Ohio had an official registration of 600 in 1955. So far, the Ohio CP District has registered 580 members in 1956.

Eastern Pennsylvania had a registration in 1955 of 523. The 1956 registration for eastern Pennsylvania is 457.

In 1955 the New Jersey District had a total registration of 766. The 1956 registration for New Jersey is 731.

In 1955 the California District had a registration of 2,894. The 1956 registration figure for the California District is 2,900.

The western Pennsylvania District had a registration of 150 in 1955. The registration for this District in 1956 is 120.

In 1955 the CP, USA claimed a total registration of 17,600 on the basis of registration figures which were turned in by the various Districts. In 1956, with the registration almost completed, the registered Party total membership is 16,500.

With regard to membership in the South, in 1955 there were 22 registered members in the State of Virginia. There are currently 25 registered members in Virginia.

In 1955 there were 48 members in Florida. The current Party membership for Florida is 38.

In 1955 there were 35 members in North Carolina. The current registration for North Carolina is 30.

In 1955 there were 16 Party members in Tennessee; however, there are no figures available for 1956.

In 1955 there were 24 Party members in Alabama with no figures available for 1956.

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In 1955 there were 57 Party members in Louisiana; however, 23 of these members were considered to be members at large. There are no figures available for Louisiana for 1956.

There were 37 registered CP members in Texas during 1955 and the current registration figure for Texas is 35.

There are currently three CP members registered in the State of Georgia and no figure was available for registration in Georgia for 1955. It is expected that more members will be registered in Georgia.

During the year 1955, dues payments for the entire CP, USA averaged 78 per cent. The following are the dues percentages for various Districts for the first few months of 1956:

New York District	-	61 per cent
Illinois District	-	44 per cent
Michigan District	-	26 per cent
Ohio District	-	28 per cent
Eastern Pennsylvania	-	16 per cent
New Jersey District	-	22 per cent
California District	-	11 per cent

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However, with regard to the percentage figure for the California District, it was stated that this figure is probably incorrect since California usually sends its dues in large batches.

[redacted] also gave the following percentage drops in Party membership between the years 1952 and 1956:

Between these years the New York District had a percentage drop of 36 per cent. Illinois' membership dropped 43 per cent. The Michigan District dropped 50 per cent; however, with regard to the percentage drop for Michigan,

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it was stated that this may be incorrect since the membership figure for Michigan for the year 1952 was an estimated 600. Ohio had a 28% drop in membership during these years. Eastern Pennsylvania a 34% drop. New Jersey a 20% drop between the years 1953 and 1956; there was no membership figure for New Jersey for the year 1952. California has had a 10% drop in membership during the period 1952 to 1956.

Discussion on Party
Organization

Comments of NEMMY SPARKS

The informant advised that NEMMY SPARKS was the first speaker during the discussion period. He said that the Bolshevization campaign during the 1930's plus the Bureaucratic leadership of Joseph Stalin froze the forms of organization of the CP. He stated, however, that these forms of organization are now being unfrozen. He then briefly reviewed the 1902 concepts of organization by V. I. Lenin and stated that since conditions are quite different now than they were in 1902 the CP needs new forms of organization.

Comments of PHIL BART

Informant advised that BART stated that the most important task of the Party is to emphasize its ideological role. He briefly discussed the shop clubs and stated that they function as trade union fractions instead of as Party organizations. He stated it is necessary for the Party to turn shop clubs into political organizations. He also warned about the lack of understanding of the capacity of various CP organizations to perform various functions. He also came out for the abolition of shop groups and also for the abolition of shop papers.

Comments of EUGENE DENNIS

Self-criticism by DENNIS

DENNIS stated that before discussing Party organization he first wanted to make a few observations concerning his article which appeared in the June 18 issue of the "Daily

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Worker." DENNIS stated that he should have said in his article that the Central Committee of the CP, SU has a collective responsibility to provide a basic Marxist analysis of what happened in the USSR with regard to Joseph Stalin. He also stated that he should have indicated in his article that new relations have been developing between various Marxist parties.

DENNIS also stated that in dealing with the "Daily Worker" in his article, he should have struck a more positive note on the boldness of the "Daily Worker" in dealing with questions growing out of the 20th Congress of the CP, SU. Finally, in regard to the criticism that he was individually responsible for the article of June 18, 1956, he wanted to say in self-criticism that he should have consulted at least the comrades in the Administrative Committee of the National Committee before publishing this article.

Comments of CG 5824-S* on DENNIS'
self-criticism and the unanimous
adoption of the statement issued
by the CP

CG 5824-S* commented that while the unanimous adoption of the compromise statement and the self-criticism on the part of DENNIS does not heal the differences on fundamental problems it does maintain a status quo for the time being. This means that the tendered resignation of JOHN GATES as the Editor of the "Daily Worker" will not be acted upon by the CP, USA. At some future date, unless the differences become sharper, it may be officially decided not to accept his resignation. While the fight between the forces of GATES and those of DENNIS is not over, it was the general opinion of those in attendance at this National Committee meeting that an advance toward unity in the national leadership was made at this meeting although some fundamental problem may cause a near explosion in the future.

DENNIS' remarks on organization

DENNIS stated that the report of [redacted] shows that the leadership in the New York District has made some beginnings and changes in the mass work of the Party. With regard to the "Daily Worker" and the suggestion that it be abandoned, DENNIS stated that he believes that the Party ought

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to ask the membership of the New York District and the readers of the paper what should be done with it. He agreed that it may be necessary to establish a new weekly and abandon the "Daily Worker" after the National Convention. He stated, however, that he thought that the various Party Districts should be polled on this matter and that we should have their answers by September when the National Election Conference will be held.

DENNIS then went into a discussion of the possibility of forming a new party of Socialism. He said that such a party cannot be built in a hurry but to achieve a new party, if and when conditions mature, the Communists will have to play a key role. He thinks that the CP is not so discredited or at least not so completely discredited that it cannot play an important role in forming a new party of Socialism. In order to play this role, however, it is necessary for the CP to bring about changes in its method of work at the present time. It is also necessary for the Party to bring about changes in the Party program. It is also necessary to bring about changes in the structure of the Party organization. As these changes are made they will facilitate the building of the new party of Socialism. He stated that if changes in the structure of the Party organization do not solve all problems with regard to legality, they will help the Party to some extent in getting into mass organizations and they will also help the Party members currently active in mass organizations.

Next, DENNIS stated that it is necessary not to lose sight of the need for security not only for the Party but for Party members active in the shops. But, he said, the CP can take steps, even while protecting its security, which would lead to more democratic forms of organizations. He also emphasized the need to develop the next steps in the fight against left sectarianism. DENNIS said that the battle against left sectarianism has not yet been won. He also stated that the Party must wage a continual fight against dogmatism and said that the fight against dogmatism is not just something for convention discussion.

DENNIS said that the CP must be patient. He said that just as he moved cautiously on the matter of the relation of the CP, USA to other Marxist or Socialist parties in other countries until he was convinced that the CP, USA had to move, so the Party leadership must be patient with membership

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in order to move them along new lines of organization and towards new goals.

Comments of [redacted]

DENNIS was followed by [redacted] [redacted] stated that he is not certain that the Party can ever overcome its errors and the bureaucracy within its ranks. He stated that he also favored the abolition of shop units and shop papers and he asked for an expanded democracy within the Party.

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Comments of WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

The next speaker during the discussion period was WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, District Organizer of California.

SCHNEIDERMAN stated that there is a real crisis in the CP and that the problems the Party faces are universal in the sense that the same problems exist from coast to coast. He stated that the leadership of the CP must have an open mind on all matters and that the National Committee will have to inject itself into the present discussion going on within the Party. He stated that so far the National Committee has not done this. He then stated that he wanted to mention a few things about which the Party membership is talking on the West Coast. He stated that the membership is asking the following questions:

Can we change the organization of the CP?

Can the present leadership of the CP, USA change its policy?

Do we need a monolithic party?

Do we need military discipline?

What about dissent. How far can a member go in dissent in support of his position?

If the Party member fights for his position, will it be considered factionalism?

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SCHNEIDERMAN stated that democratic centralism is discredited. He stated that the Party needs more emphasis on democracy. Direct representation to county levels is a current demand of the membership. Elective bodies should verify policies. The higher committees should not ram down a line to the lower organizations. The Party should outlaw cooptation. The Party should hold more frequent elective conferences and elections for positions. The Party should hold more frequent conventions. We should have a bill of rights for the membership. There should be no expulsions from the Party except for anti-working class activity or for people who are caught as informers. The right of appeal in the Party should be automatic. There should be the right to recall leaders.

SCHNEIDERMAN stated that Party leaders should review the Constitution particularly with regard to the matters of appeal and democracy. At this point, SCHNEIDERMAN commented that he has been unable to find a 1938 Constitution of the CP, USA. He stated that he will probably have to consult the prosecution or read the court record in order to know what is in this Constitution.

SCHNEIDERMAN also stated that the Party membership has a universal demand that the national leadership tell them something about the different opinions among the members of the National Committee. The membership is also interested in at least some details of the conflicting opinions of the members of the National Committee. He stated that the Party members are also asking for a more frequent review of Party policy especially after a policy has been tested in action. The membership is also asking for more simplified agendas and they also want permission to let the clubs decide their own agendas. The membership also wants all agendas to include a good and welfare clause so that any member can raise whatever problem he has on his mind.

SCHNEIDERMAN also stated that the Party should make it obligatory for the leadership to listen to and act upon proposals made by the rank and file members.

According to SCHNEIDERMAN, the Party members are also asking how Party leaders are being chosen. How will future Party leaders be selected. He stated that some Party leaders

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have suggested that the names of persons aspiring to leadership be made available to the membership in various parts of the country so that they can obtain a record of the Party activities of these people and see if they are worthy of being elected to positions of national leadership.

Next, SCHNEIDERMAN read a few sentences from a letter he had recently received from LOUISE TODD. She indicated that some of the matters about which she wrote were being discussed in the Party ranks at the present time. She stated that because of the turmoil in the Party steps should be taken at the present time to institute changes in the Party in regard to a policy of democracy. She also stated that the Party should open discussions on the national leadership. She also stated that all Party members should be notified that currently the Party is carrying on discussions concerning possible changes in Party Constitution. She also stated that the members should be notified that currently there is a committee working on suggested changes in the Party Constitution. She also stated that the Party should publicize a series of proposed changes in the Party Constitution.

Next, SCHNEIDERMAN discussed some views of important problems. He stated that these views were held by what he called non-Party people. He stated that he had met with a group of non-Party people who are Longshoremen and that he had met separately with HARRY BRIDGES, whom he characterized as a non-Party labor leader. He said that HARRY BRIDGES said that the CP is having too many discussions about past mistakes made by the Party. These discussions of past mistakes are currently a handicap in the Party's operations.

BRIDGES stated that the CP is illegal and that it is not getting anywhere. He stated that the Party cannot grow since it cannot obtain recruits; therefore, it will eventually die. In the opinion of BRIDGES, the CP should dissolve at the National Convention in December. After its dissolution, the CP should wait for at least six months before a new Party comes into being. Without a waiting period of at least six months, the dissolution would be interpreted as a gimmick and a new party would be subject to prosecution.

SCHNEIDERMAN said that BRIDGES stated that when a new party is formed that this party should talk American not

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New Yorkese. He stated that the CP would have to keep in mind that there has been a long period of prosperity in the United States and that this period of prosperity has affected the thinking of the American working man. BRIDGES said that the American working man is not going to give all-out support to some will-o-the-wisp unless he sees that it is something practical.

BRIDGES then stated that he did not agree with PAUL SWEZZY, an editor of the "Monthly Review," who has suggested the formation of a Fabian Society which would propagate Socialism but would not have any real organization. BRIDGES stated that he thinks that there is room for a party of Socialism in the United States. This would be a new kind of party which would attract trade unionists. This party might be a federation consisting of an association of Socialist minded people. BRIDGES stated that if such a party comes into being and this party is not identified with the Communists, he would consider joining such a party.

Next SCHNEIDERMAN talked about industrial clubs in the CP. SCHNEIDERMAN stated that the Party should retain the industrial club, at least for the time being, inasmuch as there was nothing better to supplant it. SCHNEIDERMAN stated that one trouble with the organization of the CP, USA is that it has the same form of organization and the same tasks for a club of 60 members as it has for a club of 6 members. As a result, many Communist clubs are given impossible tasks to perform. He stated that someone has compared the CP clubs to a pyramid standing on its point with everything being pored down upon it from the top. He stated that it is necessary for the Party to become more realistic and to refrain from giving exaggerated tasks to the membership.

Comments of [redacted]
Executive [redacted] of the
New York CP District

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CG 5824-S* advised that [redacted] stated that in 1946 the CP in the New York District had a total membership of 26,000 and that in 1950 the total membership of the New York District was 17,700.

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It is to be noted that in his report, [redacted] had stated that in 1946 the New York District had a total membership of 30,000 and that in 1950 the New York District had 24,000 members.

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[redacted] stated that he was a little worried because some persons present at this National Committee meeting had stated that they were encouraged by the report of [redacted]. [redacted] stated that there are many problems in the New York District and that no one should feel too encouraged. He stated that he wanted to repeat what had been said previously and that is that the Party faces a crisis. He stated that because of the economic boom in the United States the workers are not willing to listen to CP members. He also stated that there is political reaction in the United States which has helped to isolate the Party. He stated that not only has the Party committed numerous mistakes which also isolated it but the 20th Congress then came along and depened the crisis of the CP, USA.

[redacted] stated that the root cause of bureaucracy in the CP, USA is not the full time Party functionaries. He stated that bureaucracy is built into the constitution of the CP, USA. He also stated that he is in favor of the retention of shop clubs until the Party can find some better form of organization. He said that originally he was in favor of the immediate abolition of shop clubs but that a recent trip to upstate New York convinced him that a situation different than that which exists in New York compells the retention of shop clubs. He stated that we still have to give some security to CP members in industry. He stated that he could see no form of organization which would do a better job of giving security to these members at this time than the shop club.

[redacted] then went to the blackboard and indicated that he, too, had had some meetings with a number of important trade union people who are now outside of the CP.

CG 5824-S* commented that when the persons at this meeting, such as [redacted] spoke of trade union persons who are not Party persons they may or may not have meant what they have said. Explaining this, the informant stated that if a

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trade union person is subject to the Taft-Hartley Law, he may be formally out of the Party but if a trade union person is not subject to Taft-Hartley he may be a secret member of the Party. The informant stated that he is not certain what [redacted] had in mind with this characterization.

[redacted] stated that during these discussions with these trade unionists, he asked them some questions with regard to the possibility of building a new Socialist party in the United States and what their position would be with regard to such a party. He said that he also asked them what steps could be undertaken at the present time in order to bring some trade unionists, including ex-Party members, closer to the current thinking of the CP, especially since the CP is changing its methods and forms of work.

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It is noted that this topic was further developed by JOHN GATES who also spoke for the New York District.

Comments of ED STRONG

[redacted] was followed by ED STRONG. STRONG stated that he thought that the following three matters should be given serious consideration:

1. Do we face a crisis?

He stated that in his opinion the CP, USA does face a crisis which is related to problems growing out of the 20th Congress of the CP, SU.

2. What is the nature and source of bureaucracy in the CP?

He stated that to merely say that bureaucracy is built into the CP is not the answer. He said that he thinks that the Party should look scientifically for the cause of bureaucracy in the Party.

3. How do we solve this current crisis in the Party? Can we do it and can we do it before the National Convention?

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STRONG stated that he hopes that the Party will not set a time limit for the solution of the current crisis. He stated that to do this would be to once again place an impossible task before the membership. STRONG said that to place something like a 30 day limit on the solution of the crisis might result in an even bigger crisis.

Comments of JOHN GATES

STRONG was followed by JOHN GATES. GATES said that he was pleased by the self-criticism remarks of EUGENE DENNIS. He said that this self-criticism will go a long way to solving some of the Party's problems. It will also help him to resolve problems of self-criticism.

GATES stated that he is not too pessimistic. He does not think that the Party is through or finished. The Party still has many assets, however, he stated that if the CP does not make some changes it will be through as a factor in the United States. Without changes, the CP will disappear as a political force even though it continues to exist in name. He stated that some members are already leaving the Party and that some others are watching to see what the leadership proposes to do before deciding whether or not they will leave the Party.

GATES stated that WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN presented the thinking of the California District but that this thinking is prevalent throughout the Party and that some of the suggestions of the California District should be put into effect nationally at the present time.

GATES also stated that since the CP is illegal that it is going to be difficult to fight for democracy within the Party without, at the same time, fighting for democracy in the country. He asked what the Party could do to change this situation. How can the Party survive and make its contribution to the new Socialist party which will come into being in the future. GATES stated that some illegality in the CP is self-imposed; however, some of the proposals made during the discussion at this meeting contained the elements to make change possible; for example:

1. The question of democratic centralism.

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2. The changing of the name of the Party.

He said that the changing of the name of the Party should be discussed, not as a gimmick, but as something to give relief to the CP before the Party is able to build a bigger party of Socialism.

3. The deletion from the Constitution of the CP, USA of the words, Marxism - Leninism.

He said that this is necessary if the Party wants to establish legality.

GATES then said that the Party has only begun to fight against sectarianism. He said that the trade union people think that the Party should not dissolve. He then went to the blackboard and he, too, indicated that he had met with some leaders from a number of unions. He mentioned the Typographical Union, the Teamsters Union, and the Furriers Union. He also referred to them as non-Party trade union people. He said these people think that the CP should not dissolve. He said that they feel that even if a new Party of Socialism is formed, a new Party which trade unionists could join, that the CP can still play a role in the American political situation inasmuch as it can raise problems which no other party can raise.

GATES also stated that he had a discussion about the perspectives for "Labor's Daily." GATES said that perhaps the CP ought to pay more attention to this newspaper since this paper has received the official endorsement of the AFL-CIO and also because it may some day become the official organ of the merged labor unions. He stated that if it does become an official organ that it might be influenced through locals or through certain correspondence sent to the paper.

GATES finished with some remarks concerning the "Daily Worker." He said it is necessary for the Party to face the problem of the continual burden of the paper on the Party. He said that it may be necessary for the Party to give up the "Daily Worker"; however, this matter should be fully discussed and in no event should the "Daily Worker" be abandoned prior to the National Convention of the CP.

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Comments of [redacted]

[redacted] followed JOHN GATES and she talked about CP activities in the trade unions and stated that the Party is lagging behind the trade unions. She stated that she thinks that the shop clubs have merit but that it is necessary to get the shop clubs to occasionally discuss other than shop problems and to assist the community organizations with some of their problems. She also talked about the change in the character of the leadership. She said that the members in the New Jersey District believe that the authority of the leadership should be limited and that the conventions of the Party should make more decisions on policy. She also stated that she believes that more leeway should be given to the lower organizations of the Party so that they can explore things for themselves and submit their opinions to the higher bodies for further consideration. She also stated that the Party membership is not clear on the exaggeration of the war danger. She stated that it is necessary to give more factual material on this matter so that Party speakers can convince Party membership that the war danger was exaggerated. She also stated that the Party needs more factual material on the role the Party plays within the trade union movement.

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Theoretical Remarks of
MAX WEISS

CG 5824-S* advised that [redacted] was followed by MAX WEISS who went into a theoretical exposition of the crisis in the Party. The informant commented that while everyone thought that WEISS gave a good philosophical report they also felt that his report had little to do with the situation at hand. The informant stated that the corridor conversation was that the logic in WEISS' remarks was precise; however, the premise was incorrect, therefore, everything that followed the premise was wrong.

Informant also stated that WEISS' remarks were only a part of the discussion and did not necessarily reflect an expression of any collective body.

WEISS asked whether there is a crisis in the CP and, if there is a crisis, whether or not it can be separated from the crisis in world Communism. He then went into his

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theoretical exposition. He stated that there was a crisis in the Second International in the early 1900's. He said that this was an irreconcilable conflict and a crisis which could only be resolved by a split in the Communist movement. Next, he talked of the second crisis in the Communist movement. He stated that this crisis occurred when Adolph Hitler came into power and a right and left wing of the Socialist movement came into being. He said that the third crisis in world Communism took place when Tito challenged Stalin. According to WEISS, this third crisis has been resolved; therefore, we are too late in talking about a current crisis in world Communism. He said that we are in a battle with a left sectarian current but this current has no real basis, therefore, there is no choice of a split before us.

WEISS stated that if the CP, SU fought for a policy different than that adopted by other Communist Parties with regard to relations with the CP, SU, then there would be a serious crisis in world Communism; however, the CP, SU is not opposed to this changed attitude of other parties toward the Soviet Union; therefore, there is no crisis. WEISS said that we are at a historical turning point in a new era. He stated that if we need to use the word "crisis" to move the people, to show them that the situation is serious, then he has no objection to the use of this word; however, if we are merely talking about the current situation in world Communism then he is against the use of the word "crisis."

WEISS then went into a discussion of the period of the Third International which he characterized as a period of "wars and revolutions." He said that because this was a period of wars and revolutions the CPs at that time were fashioned accordingly in order to meet the situation. He said that now we are in a new era. We are in the era of non-inevitability of war and the era of peaceful transition. Therefore, we need to build a new kind of a party, a party organized quite differently than the party of the Third International.

WEISS further stated that the CP, USA must unite Socialism with the labor movement. It must help form and bring into being a new organization which will ultimately be the party of Socialism. The starting point is a program.

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He said that the CP today has no program. He also stated that we cannot use the 20 volumes of Lenin as a program. This does not mean, however, that we are abandoning the theoreticians of Marxism - Leninism. WEISS stated that during Lenin's life there was no such thing as Leninism. Stalin was the one who gave us the term, Leninism. Leninism was supposed to be Marxism in the era of imperialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now, according to WEISS, we have a new situation. There are many new Socialist countries; there is a different attitude by the various CPs toward the Soviet Union; therefore, we made a new program and we should not use the words Marxism-Leninism in our program.

Comment of BEN DAVIS

WEISS was followed by BEN DAVIS. DAVIS only made one or two remarks and he stated that the struggle for Negro civil rights was missing from the report of [redacted]. He stated that this may cause some discussion among the Negro cadre. He also stated that he thought that more attention ought to be given to the problem of explaining how left sectarian errors were committed in the Negro field of work.

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Summary by [redacted]

In a short summary, [redacted] stated that if the word "crisis" is considered to be too scarey in describing the present situation in the Party then another word should be used. He stated, however, that he cannot explain the current situation in the CP by means of a general historical analysis. (the informant advised that this was a reference to the remarks of MAX WEISS).

[redacted] stated that the Party has finally come out against the left sectarian danger; however, the 20th Congress of the CP, SU has added some new problems, therefore, it is necessary not only to fight against left sectarianism but it is also necessary to give explanations to the membership about what has happened during the last 30 years in the Soviet Union. He said that this is a problem which needs to be discussed and that it is necessary for us to give satisfactory answers to the membership. He said that the Party needs a most drastic

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overhauling. He said that there is a body of thought in the Party which says, "let us stand our ground, things will eventually change anyway." He stated that if this body of thought prevails it could be more disastrous to us than the enemy.

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In conclusion, [redacted] stated that he favors some drastic changes in the CP. He said that even now we should begin giving consideration to new democratic processes and should begin to introduce them into the organization of the Party. He also urged that the National Committee announce the existence of a Constitutional Committee and indicate that this committee will formulate some proposals for changes in the Constitution prior to the National Convention.

Proposals and future plans
of the National Committee

CG 5824-S* advised that there were no formal proposals and it was decided that any proposals resulting from this National Committee meeting would be culled from the discussion by the Administrative Committee of the National Committee which was scheduled to meet on Monday and possibly Tuesday, June 25 and 26, 1956.

This National Committee meeting adjourned at this point with the announcement that the Administrative Committee should set the date for the next National Committee meeting. It was also announced that the National Committee plans to state that the Party has formed various commissions which are meeting to study the Party Convention, the Party organization, and other matters. These commissions are to prepare resolutions for discussion by the membership prior to the National Convention. At the next meeting of the National Committee, these commissions are to make progress reports to the National Committee.

FBI

Date: 7/3/56

Transmit the following message via A I R T E L

REGULAR MAIL, RM
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

FROM SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

TO: BUREAU (100-3-68)

CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
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SEC. 19
SEC. 20

3 - BUREAU (100-3-68) (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - ATLANTA (AIR MAIL, RM)
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1 - CHARLOTTE (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
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1 - CINCINNATI (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - CLEVELAND (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - DALLAS (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - DETROIT (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - EL PASO (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - HOUSTON (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - LOS ANGELES (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - MEMPHIS (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - MIAMI (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - MOBILE (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - NEWARK (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - NEW ORLEANS (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - NORFOLK (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - PHILADELPHIA (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - PITTSBURGH (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - RICHMOND (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - SAN ANTONIO (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - SAN DIEGO (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - SAN FRANCISCO (AIR MAIL, RM)
1 - SAVANNAH (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - SPRINGFIELD (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
1 - NY 100-128817 (CPUSA-DIST. 2-MEMBERSHIP) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-80638 (19)

JVW:HC (19)
(31) JVW

Approved:

fm *DJM*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____ JRC

100-80638-1087

AIRTEL

DATE: 7/3/56

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IS-C

PAGE TWO

ReNYtel 6/25/56, and Buairtel 7/2/56, entitled
"CPUSA-ORGANIZATION, IS-C."

According to refNYtel, CG 5824-S* has advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on 6/24/56 that on that day third session of CPUSA National Committee was held at Jefferson School of Social Science auditorium, [redacted] assistant National Executive [redacted] went to blackboard and wrote current registration figures of leading CP districts. This data reflected official CP national membership figure for 1955 as 17,600 and current membership as 16,500, with registration almost completed.

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[redacted] gave registration figures for 1955 and 1956 for several districts, and the following are 1956 figures:

New York	8,800
Illinois	900
Michigan	251 (registration not complete)
Ohio	580
Eastern Pennsylvania	457
New Jersey	731
California	2,900
Western Pennsylvania	120
Virginia	25
Florida	36
North Carolina	30
Texas	36
Georgia	3

The 1956 figures are not available for following, but 1955 figures for areas indicated follow:

Tennessee	16
Alabama	24
Louisiana	57 (23 of these considered members at large)

Foregoing is for information and extreme care must be used to protect identity of informant.

KELLY

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

Date: 7/6/56

From : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

Subject: CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

On 6/26/56, NY 1767-S* furnished photographs of information in the possession of [redacted] at her residence. Original negatives of these photographs are being made exhibit 1B28 of the subject's NY file 100-51082.

On 11/5/55, [redacted] advised that [redacted] had been introduced to him during that month by a member of the National Committee of the CP, as the Southern Regional Organizer of the CP.

It is noted that during the contact with the above

- 5 - Bureau (100-3 - 68) (RM)
(2 - 100-3-69) (CP, USA - Organization) (Encs. 2)
(1 - 100-227473) [redacted]
- 2 - Atlanta (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 3 - Birmingham (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 3 - Charlotte (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Dallas (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Houston (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Knoxville (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Little Rock (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Memphis (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Miami (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Mobile (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - New Orleans (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 3 - Norfolk (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Oklahoma City (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 3 - Richmond (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - San Antonio (AM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Savannah (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 2 - St. Louis (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 1 - New York (100-51082) [redacted] (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-86944) [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-83317) (HOSEA HUDSON) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-91418) (JUNIUS SCALES) (#12-16)
- 1 - New York (100-34032) (LOU BURNHAM) (#29-11)
- 1 - New York (100-80641) (CP, USA-Organization) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-86661) ([redacted]) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-80638)

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Source as well as on a previous contact, that it was observed that [redacted] maintains an office in her apartment which appears to be equipped for the handling of the organizational and financial operations of the Southern Regional Committee.

Among the material furnished on 6/26/56, by the Source was a notebook page from a notebook pad on which appear handwritten notes regarding the CP's 1954-1955 registration drive in the South. Attached to this page with Scotch tape, apparently for easy removal was a smaller piece of paper containing what appears to be the CP membership figures for the Southern states in 1955, as well as the membership figures by individual states for 1953. These statistics are set up in the comparative analysis form with the top number being the number of persons registered by the CP in the particular state for 1955 and the bottom number being the membership total for that particular state in 1953. Notes also appear beside certain states listing the number of recruits and transfers.

It is noted that information recently developed through a highly confidential source in NY on [redacted] reflects that the CP's aim for membership registration for the South is to reach the total membership which the Party had there in 1953.

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The following is an interpretation of these figures as set forth:

Georgia - 25% of the 1953 membership
1 registered - 1955
4-membership 1953

Letter to Director, FBI

Re: CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
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Alabama - 60% of the 1953 membership
69 registered 1955
115 membership 1953
(Note made that 8 members were recruited in Alabama
in 1955)

Louisiana - 85% of the 1953 membership
57 registered 1955
67 membership in 1953
(Note made that 2 persons transferred into
Louisiana during 1955).

North Carolina - 87% of 1953 membership
56 persons registered in 1955
65 membership in 1953

South Carolina - No percentage given
0 listed as registered in 1955
2 membership 1953

Tennessee - 100% of 1953 membership
14 registered in 1955
14 membership in 1953
(Note that one recruit was made in Tennessee
in 1955)

Virginia - 94% of 1953 membership
34 registered in 1955
37 membership in 1953

Florida - 90% of 1953 membership
63 registered in 1955
70 membership in 1953

Totals 74% of the 1953 membership registered
Total Membership in 1955 - 339
Total Membership in 1953 - 457

Letter to Director, FBI

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IS-C

The notes on the large piece of paper to which the membership figures were attached appear to be an analysis of the registration problems of the particular states; under Georgia appears the note "Bill-contacts in Atlanta go into area in week or so". The "Bill" undoubtedly refers to HOSEA HUDSON, who has been known to operate in Georgia and who utilizes the alias "Bill".

On the note also appears "Freedom Guy has contacts". This probably refers to LOUIS BURNHAM, who is the editor of the magazine and paper, "Freedom", published by the CP in NY.

The note [redacted] or last organizer who knew [redacted] people who were in [redacted] is undoubtedly [redacted] NY Secutity subject, who formerly was a district [redacted] in the South.

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The notes appearing under Alabama and Louisiana are self explanatory. The identities of the persons described under "2D and E" are unknown.

The "J" mentioned under North Carolina probably refers to JUNIUS SCALES and [redacted] mentioned under Virginia is probably [redacted]

Copies of these photographs are being made enclosures to the Bureau and to all Southern offices for their information and evaluation. Copies are also being made attachments to the pertinent NYO files.

Workers

Food

Rug - Dress

Tidy, Bed,

Working Class press, Freedom

March of Labor

Sustainers

Rug -

'54 '55

1) Ga -

69 69
12 41

69
40
109 40.0.0
327
730

6 115T

36
110.0.0
350
208
668
40

I have -

are registered

now for whom who

people who were in
one brand - which
contract.

2) Ala -

90 - 25%

Ala - 60%

La - 85%

NC - 87%

SC -

Tn - 100%

Va - 94%

Xa - 90%

Tx - 61%

1/4 - 100% 53
(recruit)

57 1/2 Trans)

67 1/2

65 1/2

63 1/2

70 1/2

45 1/2

73 (recruit)

339

457

4) N.E -

74%

5) S.C

6) Va - are there some 3 who had gone about B&B?

cat # 100100 40638-1008

Reg. - what kind of breakdown do we have -
what color show people were registered

'54-'55

- 1) Ga. -
 - a) Bill - contacts in Atlanta - go into area for week end
 - b) freedom song has contacts
 - c) go after juke friendly couple?
 - d) Health ?; or lost organize who know people who were in
 - e) White belonging - C.R.C. - membership like a Board - Water front history of Comitee in Ga. - contact

2) Ala. - a) check over lots

b) share for 100 -

c) records - t? d) pay on rural areas - down to \$2 - Negro who worked with and Committee - can he go down - for more - primarily

III - rural

- a) White
- b) Negro

t - general city scene
T.V.?

3) La. - ~~to~~

a) substance

b) youth work

4) N.C. - 1) find out about lost

2) send N.C. to do reg

5) S.C. - somebody got to go

6) Va. - 1) are there since 3 who had great about B.L.C.?

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 7-9-56

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on June 23, 1956. This information had been obtained on this date by CG 5824-S* and NY 694-S* in a conversation with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER:

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER stated that the majority of the New York District of the Communist Party advocate a policy of criticism toward the Soviet Union and the CPSU as a result of the disclosures made at the 20th Congress of the CPSU by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV. In answer to a statement that other Communist Party Districts do not share the views of the New York District in this regard, FOSTER commented that the New York District comprises 60% of the total membership of the Communist Party - USA. Therefore, the opinion of the majority of the New York Communist Party District would have a great affect upon the Party nationally.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
 6 - New York (REGISTERED)
 (1 - 100-80641)(CP - USA, Organization)(#19)
 (1 - 100-80638)(CP - USA, Membership)(#19)
 (1 - 100-23825)(BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.)(#19)
 (1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19)
 (1 - 100-9365)(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
 (1 - 134-91)(NY 694-S)(P & C)

- 2 - Chicago
 (1 - A/134-46)

JEK:kw
 (10)

100-80638-1089

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 11 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

80

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION

FOSTER also stated that if the main danger to the Communist Party during the last decade has been a tendency toward left sectarianism, that the Party is now swinging too far to the right. FOSTER also stated that the Party leadership is trying to isolate him. He said that he is not being informed of recent developments and that only BEN DAVIS and GENE DENNIS had visited him since he moved to his country residence. He also stated that DENNIS had visited him for only a few minutes.

FOSTER also complained that not one person had gotten up to defend him and the activities of the Communist Party - USA during the last decade at the enlarged meeting of the National Committee, which was held in New York City from April 28 through May 1, 1956. FOSTER asked and answered the following questions:

Who kept the Party running? BILL FOSTER. What happened on the Negro question? They went crazy. They went berserk. And who wrote the article on the Negro question? Now they say I wrote it too late. Was that leftism? The biggest mistake the Party made was going underground. Who fought it? I did. This was the biggest error of leftism made by the Party.

CG 5824-S* also stated that FOSTER said that an article by one MORRELL (ph), from Philadelphia, which appeared in the "Daily Worker", attacks FOSTER and compares FOSTER to STALIN with regard to the cult of the individual. FOSTER also stated that he had received a note from [redacted] in Canada and he is having the same troubles as FOSTER is.

CG 5824-S* commented that FOSTER spoke as a bitter man; however, he also made the statement that he should not be taken too seriously and that he considered the informants to be good friends of his.

b6
b7C

SAC, CLEVELAND

7/10/56

SPC
SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

NY 1750-S*, who is in a position to furnish reliable information concerning the activities of PHIL BART, member of the CP National Organization Commission, advised on 6/18/56 that PHIL BART stated the following:

"The national average for dues is about 42% paid. A few months ago it was only 30%. New York payments went up to 61%, and this raised the average in the country. Illinois has 24% payment of dues. Ohio is excellent in organization, but dues are down to 28%. Cleveland has gone up in membership."

Informant was not able to furnish any further information concerning the above.

If the above is used for dissemination, it should be carefully paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

- 3 - Cleveland (RM)
(1-100-) (CP, USA FUNDS)
- 1 - Chicago (100-) (CP, USA FUNDS) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-80638) (#19)
(1-100-26603) (CP, USA DISTRICT #2) (#12-14)

RAD:ekm
(B)

7-10-100-80638-1090

FBI

DATE: 7/12/56

Transmit the following message via AIR-TEL

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-34927)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

SUBJECT: CP, USA District #3
Eastern Pennsylvania
Philadelphia Field Division
IS - C

The following information attributed to [redacted]
must be paraphrased in order to protect his identity.
[redacted] was contacted on 7/6/56, by SAS WINFRED ELDER
JESTER of the Newark Office and [redacted] of the New
York Office, at which time the informant furnished the
following oral information:

Informant advised [redacted] from Philadelphia
visited him on 7/3 and 4/56. [redacted] brought with him his
wife and two children. [redacted] stated the Philadelphia

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Chicago (100-) (CP, USA) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (COMINFIL, USWA)
2 - Cleveland (100-) (CP, USA District 6) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (COMINFIL, USWA)
3 - Newark (100-) (CP, USA District 14) (RM)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 100-) (COMINFIL, USWA)
8 - Philadelphia (100-) [redacted] (RM)
(1 - 100-) (Berks County Farmers Union Coop)
(1 - 100-) (FNU PHILLIPS)
(1 - 100-) (ED STRONG)
(1 - 100-) [redacted]
(1 - 100-) (PHIL BART)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA District 3, Eastern Pennsylvania)
(1 - 100-) (COMINFIL, USWA)
2 - Pittsburgh (100-) (CP, USA District 7) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (COMINFIL, USWA)
1 - [redacted]
1 - NY 100-22531 [redacted] (7-5)
1 - NY 100-20649 (ED STRONG) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-42643 [redacted] (7-5)
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (19)
1 - NY 100-28609 [redacted] (19)
1 - NY 100-[redacted] (7-5)
1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (19)
① - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA Membership) (19)
1 - NY 100-34927
1 - NY 100-27581 (COMINFIL, USWA) (7-1)

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b7D

100-80638-1091

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 12 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Waters #19

APH:jn/htk

(32)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

Re: CP, USA District #3
Eastern Pennsylvania
Philadelphia Field Division

District of the CP is organizing a meeting of Communist farmers in five or six counties in Pennsylvania to meet at Mother Bloor farm. The aim of this meeting is to re-establish the Communist organization among farmers in the five or six Pennsylvania counties and to do it independently of CP members who are leaders in the Berks County Farmers Union Coop in Reading, Pennsylvania. [redacted] in connection with this meeting invited the informant to meet with him at Quakertown, Pennsylvania on 7/22/56. [redacted] told informant the PHILLIPS brothers in Reading and several other officers and leaders of the Berks County Farmers Union Coop who are CP members cannot be relied upon by the CP to carry out its objectives. These individuals are more concerned about the activities of the Coop. [redacted] indicated that the CP is now going over the heads of these individuals and dealing directly with the Rank and File Comrades.

The informant indicated he intended to go to Quakertown on 7/22/56.

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b7C

[redacted] advised informant he has made an extensive trip through Eastern Pennsylvania towns and counties with the aim of re-establishing contact with Comrades who have not had the benefit of recent Communist leadership. [redacted] indicated that the towns and counties visited by him were in a pretty precarious position in that they had no existing Communist leadership to guide them. He stated only remnants of the CP existed in such cities as Harrisburgh, Pottsville, Hazleton, Wilkes Barre, Coatesville and Allentown.

[redacted] stated the Philadelphia District is and has been staffed by non-Pennsylvanians during the past three to five years, that is ED STRONG, [redacted] and others, who do not know the old Communist movement in Pennsylvania, don't know farm people, farm groups, and leaders.

[redacted] proposed that informant go to Philadelphia for a meeting with Communist leaders. [redacted] indicated

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

Re: CP, USA District #3
Eastern Pennsylvania
Philadelphia Field Division

that in the near future the Philadelphia District will arrange a meeting between the informant, PHIL BART and ED STRONG, all of whom were former CP leaders in Philadelphia. The work experience of these three individuals in the Pennsylvania area comprises approximately 18 years.

[redacted] stated the Philadelphia leaders want to probe the minds of BART, STRONG and the informant as to the identity of Communist personalities in every city . . . who were either known as CP members or fellow travelers. In this manner a list will be built up and organizers will systematically, town by town, canvass each one on the list to see if they are still around and will rejoin the CP.

[redacted] stated he has specific CP directions to re-establish the CP in Eastern Pennsylvania and needs such type of assistance and help as requested of [redacted]

[redacted] indicated to informant that informant has a tremendously popular standing among members of the Philadelphia CP and sympathizers thereof, and that of all the former organizers in Philadelphia, the informant carries the greatest respect.

With regard to organizing the Party in the Philadelphia area, [redacted] asked the informant whether he would agree to come to Philadelphia in about six weeks to speak at a public meeting to be widely advertised in the hope that the informant's name would be bait for some Comrades to snatch at and result in their filtering back into the Party.

The informant told [redacted] that he is willing to confer with Philadelphia CP leaders and is also willing to attend the proposed Philadelphia public meeting.

With respect to [redacted] the informant advised that in addition to [redacted] duties in Eastern Pennsylvania, [redacted] and [redacted] of the CP, USA, prior

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To: DIRECTOR, FBI

Re: CP, USA District #3
Eastern Pennsylvania
Philadelphia Field Division

to the steel strike, assigned [redacted] to make a number of trips with respect to CP organizational activities in the event the steel strike should occur. In this assignment [redacted] stated that he recently went to Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Chicago. The informant commented that in this capacity, [redacted] was traveling as a CP, USA functionary trying to generate CP attention to "horn in on" the steel situation.

With reference to the internal situation of the CP in Philadelphia and the Eastern Pennsylvania District, [redacted] stated he expects extensive changes in the district ensuing from the present uproar in the CP. [redacted] expects to be removed and a number of others also expect to go. [redacted] indicated that in the Eastern Pennsylvania District, basically Philadelphia, there is as much of an uproar inside the CP as there is in New York. He stated extensive disillusionment among CP members and especially amongst Party and pro-Party Jewish circles there is the greatest disturbance and indignation.

[redacted] indicated a little of this dissension might get out of hand, but expressed confidence that the Party would be able to handle it. [redacted] blamed a lot of trouble on the fact that the Pennsylvania State leaders are paralyzed to do anything because they do not know what to do in that no clear decisive line is forthcoming from the CP, USA. [redacted] stated that between the efforts to re-establish the CP in Philadelphia and the efforts to try to handle the confused internal situation, the Philadelphia leadership has its hands full.

The informant stated in conclusion that [redacted] may be considered the Eastern Pennsylvania CP leader with the title State Chairman or State Secretary of the Eastern Pennsylvania CP.

KELLY

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

7/5/56

SAC, CINCINNATI (100-7964)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

ReBulet to New York, dated 5/25/56, with co's to all offices.

Reference is made to ReBulet requesting information concerning the transfer of Party members from one Communist Party district to another.

On 6/5/56, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information to SA GABRIEL R. MARTINEZ concerning a CP meeting held in Cincinnati on 6/2/56. This meeting was called by [redacted] CP [redacted] for Hamilton County, Ohio, at the specific request of CP State Officials in Cleveland, and included in the attendance were ANTHONY KRCHMAREK who introduced himself as the Ohio State Chairman of the CP, and [redacted] who introduced himself as State [redacted] for the Negro cadre. [redacted] was later identified by [redacted] as being identical with [redacted]

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During this meeting it was pointed out that [redacted] was being transferred by his employer to Nashville, Tennessee, with [redacted]. KRCHMAREK inquired of [redacted] if he was desirous of maintaining his CP activity in Nashville, Tennessee, and when answered in the affirmative, KRCHMAREK stated that he would have his membership transferred to Nashville, adding that this would take approximately a six months period. KRCHMAREK related that in the meantime, he would contact the National Board of the CP in order that someone would contact [redacted] at Nashville, Tennessee. KRCHMAREK stressed the importance of [redacted] maintaining contact with Cincinnati during the period he is in Nashville until such time as actual contact is made, stating that further instructions as to actual contact will be made available through STERN or [redacted]. KRCHMAREK emphasized that during this period all contacts will be of a personal nature, and that there will be no correspondence between [redacted] and [redacted] and in addition, no CP literature will be mailed to his new address.

- 2 - Director (RM)
3 - Cleveland (RM)
(1 - ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
(1 -
(1 - MEMBERSHIP)
1 - Memphis (MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
① - New York (MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
1 - Cincinnati
DFG:JAM
(3)

100-33537-1092

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 9 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Hawkins *Murphy*
Walter *P.W.*
A.S. Bennett ASB

DIRECTOR, FBI

7/5/56

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

While there is no specific information to indicate that KROCHMAREK is actually in possession of CP membership records for the State of Ohio, it would appear logical from the foregoing information, together with taking the initiative in regard to the transfer of [redacted] from Cincinnati to Nashville through the National Office, that KROCHMAREK may well be in possession of CP membership lists.

Close contact is being had with [redacted] in order to ascertain the exact procedure being utilized in the transfer of [redacted] to Nashville, Tennessee. In the event this procedure becomes known to [redacted] the Bureau and interested offices will be immediately advised.

b7D

Best copy available

7/2/56

RECORDED ON 7/2/56

RECORDED ON 7/2/56

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

RECORDED ON 7/2/56

[REDACTED]

RECORDED ON 7/2/56

b7D

100-80638-1693
7/12/56

BENING

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
JUL 12 1956
FBI - NEW YORK
A. T. Waters, Jr.

RECORDED ON 7/2/56

APR 1-A 1956 100-1693

[REDACTED]

RECORDED ON 7/2/56

Best copy available

77

b7D

The image is a high-contrast, black-and-white graphic. It features a complex, abstract pattern of horizontal and vertical lines, creating a textured, almost noise-like appearance. The lines vary in thickness and density, forming various shapes and patterns across the entire frame. In the lower central area, there is a faint, handwritten-style text that reads "BEHIND". The overall effect is reminiscent of a heavily processed photograph or a piece of abstract digital art.

Best copy available

b7D

B
LAWYER
BENHE

NYC, NEW YORK (100-118310) (20-10)

7/12/56

21 [redacted] (7-1)

21-1

Source

[redacted] protect by

b7C(b7D)

Reliability

Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Date of Activity

7/3, 1956

Info Received

7/3, 1956

Received By

[redacted]

Location

stant memo

b6
b7C
b7D

Information attributed to this informant must be paraphrased in order to protect the identity of this informant.

On above date [redacted] was contacted by SAS [redacted] of the Newark Office and [redacted] of the NYO at which time he orally furnished the following information:

[redacted] and his husband, [redacted].
Certified Public Accountant 100-118310 and CP [redacted] HANCOCK, 100's "right hand man" visited the informant on 7/3 and 4/56. Informant stated that subject has been expelled from the CP because of a White Chauvinistic act. The subject refused to rejoin the CP on the basis that such a confession would be contingent on his admission that he was a glibious enigma in the past and was, in fact, guilty of White Chauvinist conduct.

At this point [redacted] elicited to informant that within the last month a Jersey County Organizer (not identified) came to him imploring that he rejoin the CP. HANCOCK quoted the CP organizer as saying "You call us what you want now, we're in Bill's bag again."

1-NY [redacted] (7-1)

1-NY [redacted] (7-1)

1-NY (100-19215) (#10-10)

1-NY (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)

1-NY (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (#19)

100-80638-1694
SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
JUL 12 1956
FBI - NEW YORK

APH: jmc
(6)

J. Devereaux J.W.
#19

7/2/68

IN SOURCE

[redacted] advised "When you are ready to tell me I have been picked out on [redacted] up, then I will [redacted] record it."

[redacted] indicated that the Organization was unwilling to accept him back in the CP [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] made the comment to the informant that he personally believes that [redacted] of the leaders of the CP, USA, ALLEN DENNIS is down the ranks of the CP USA in view of their recent published comments.

The informant advised that [redacted] is intellectually curious of the validity of the whole current situation and is "ripe" for FBI approach.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) DATE: 7-9-56

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18952)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on June 23, 1956. The informant had received this information on that date from FRED FINE, Executive Secretary of the Communist Party - USA:

FINE told the informant that HOWARD FAST has made the statement that he is considering resigning from the Communist Party. FINE also stated that [redacted] has made the statement that he is also considering resigning from the Communist Party. CG 5824-S* commented that if these two persons do resign from the Party, it will illustrate the current crisis among the intellectual members of the Communist Party - USA as a result of the disclosures made by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV in his speech to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

FRED FINE also stated that SIMON GERSON told him that he is going to turn in his resignation as head of the Civil Liberties Commission of the Communist

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

6 - New York (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-80638)(CP - USA, Membership)(#19)

(1 - 100-89691)(CP - USA, Domestic Administration Issues)

(1 - 100-89816)(FRED FINE)(#19)

(1 - 100-13473)(SIMON W. GERSON)

(1 - 100-) (HOWARD FAST)

(1 - 100-) [redacted]

2 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46)

JEK:kw

(10)

100-80638-1095

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
10 JUL 1 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Water *Water* *#19*

Water *Water* *#19*

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP

Party - USA. FINE stated that GERSON resents the fact that he has not been invited to attend meetings of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA. FINE stated that GERSON said that he is no longer going to be a mere errand boy for the National Office.

According to FINE, GERSON also attacked the leadership of the New York Communist Party District. FINE stated that GERSON referred to the New York District leadership in a sarcastic manner, inasmuch as he stated that he could not understand why this "seasoned" leadership of the New York District is permitted to participate in meetings of the National Committee and is receiving more consideration from the National Office than he is.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18952)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 7-13-56

Re Chicago letter to the Director dated May 9, 1956; Louisville letter to the Director dated May 15, 1956; New York letter to the Director dated June 1, 1956; Memphis letter to the Director dated June 12, 1956; and Bulet to Chicago dated June 28, 1956, all captioned as above.

All of these letters deal with a note exhibited to SA JOHN E. KEATING on April 28, 1956, by CG 5824-S*. This note contained the following information:

"To Kentucky, via Indiana through Chicago"

This note was signed as follows:

"F.L. Southern Reg. Com."

b6
b7C

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-9529) (EMANUEL BLUM)
- 1 - Louisville (100-213) (CP - USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Memphis (100-2198) (CP - USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
 - (1 - 100-51682) (FANNY LICHT) (#19)
 - (1 - 100-85686) [] (#20-11)
- 4 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46)
 - (1 - 100-24729) (EMANUEL BLUM)
 - (1 - 100-2398) (CP - USA)

100-80638-1094

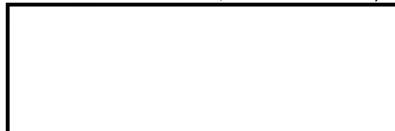
SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 13 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J.V. Waters J.V. Waters J.V.
#19

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP

Attached to this note was an envelope addressed as follows:



Inside this envelope was the following letter:

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"3658 Townes Ave.
Memphis 12, Tenn.

"Dear [redacted] and [redacted]

"This will introduce a friend of yours, Ann.

"As ever,

"M. M. & M"

Referenced Bulet requested that CG 5824-S* be questioned concerning this communication relative to its significance and the part CG 5824-S* played in the transmission of this communication.

It is to be noted that the New York and Memphis Divisions have been able to identify the individuals involved in this note, envelope and letter.

CG 5824-S* was interviewed by SA JOHN E. KEATING on July 10, 1956, regarding this material. At the time CG 5824-S* received this material, the informant was in New York City to attend an enlarged meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA. While in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA some member of the National Organization Commission of the Communist Party - USA, possibly [redacted] ISADORE WOFSY or PHIL BART, handed this material, along with some literature, to the informant with the request that the informant take it with him to Chicago. Inasmuch as EMANUEL BLUM is the Communist Party Organizer for Indiana, and Kentucky is also under the jurisdiction of BLUM, CG 5824-S* gave this material to BLUM.

Since the position of CG 5824-S* in the Communist Party does not normally involve the informant in details of

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP

Communist Party organization, particularly in connection with the State of Kentucky, it was not appropriate for the informant to ask the significance of this material, nor was any explanation offered, since the informant was merely acting as a means of transmission in this instance. For these reasons CG 5824-S* cannot attach any further significance to this material beyond that which is apparent on its face.

FBI

Date: 7/18/56

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

Re New York letter, 7/6/56, on the above captioned matter.

This communication contained information furnished by NY 1767-S* in the possession of [REDACTED] which is believed to be the CP membership figures for individual Southern States in 1953, and the registration of CP members in 1954-1955.

For the information of the Bureau and all offices receiving copies of this communication, these figures are for the 1954-1955 period of membership and in CP terminology would be more probably known as the 1954 Registrations. All offices are requested to keep this in mind when analyzing the original figures set forth in the communication and enclosures.

b6
b7C

KELLY

6-Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
(2-100-3-69)(CP, USA-ORGANIZATION)
--(1-100-227473) [REDACTED]
2-Atlanta (RM)
3-Birmingham (RM)
3-Charlotte (RM)
2-Dallas (RM)
2-Houston (RM)
2-Knoxville (RM)
(CARBON COPIES CONT'D)

[Handwritten Signature]

HPQ:FMC (#19) *[Signature]*

(53)

H. E. J. SMITH

Approved:

[Signature]

Sent _____ M Per _____

(Special Agent in Charge)

100-80638-1097

FBI

Date: 7/18/56

Transmit the following message via PAGE TWO

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC,

To:

CARBONS COPIES CONT'D

2-Little Rock (RM)
2-Memphis (RM)
2-Miami (RM)
2-Mobile (RM)
2-New Orleans (RM)
2-Norfolk (RM)
2-Oklahoma City (RM)
3-Richmond (RM)
2-San Antonio (RM)
2-Savannah (RM)
2-St. Louis (RM)
1-New York (100-51082) [REDACTED] (19)
1-New York (100-86944) [REDACTED]
1-New York (100-83317) [REDACTED] (19)
1-New York (100-91418) [REDACTED]
1-New York (100-34032) (LOUIS BURNHAM) (20-11)
1-New York (100-80641) (CP. USA-ORGANTZATION) (19)
1-New York (100-86661) [REDACTED] (7-5)
1-New York (100-80638) [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
(Special Agent in Charge)

SAC, NEW YORK (100-12959)

7/6/56

SA RICHARD A. DONOVAN

CONNIE BART
SM-C

Identity of Informant: NY 1750-S*

Reliability:

who is in a position to furnish reliable information concerning PHIL and CONSTANCE BART

Date:

6/9/56

On this date, informant advised that CONNIE BART stated that MARTHA [REDACTED], GEORGE [REDACTED], and I are "having supper at 6 o'clock Monday".

Informant advised that on this date the following individuals visited the BARTS at their apartment:

DOROTHY ROSE and ALBERT (BLUMBERG?)
ETHEL and HARRY [REDACTED]

Informant advised on this date that CONNIE BART stated she was to a meeting last night. CONNIE BART and an unidentified woman discussed the unattached people in the Party membership. The unidentified woman stated that she had heard some fantastic figures that 10 to 20% of the membership was unattached. This unidentified woman stated that she had difficulty in attaching. CONNIE BART stated that she was given the figure that approximately one-third of the membership is old or sick.

Informant advised that CONNIE BART stated something about "being a Brooklyn Section Organizer, but knowing pitifully little about Brooklyn". PHIL BART stated "This is the Brooklyn Section Organizer". CONNIE BART stated "I collected yesterday, but it will not take effect until after I return from my vacation".

The unidentified woman stated that she was a Section Organizer until she left in 1951.

- 1 - NY (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C43) (CP, USA, KINGS COUNTY) (#20A1-F)
- 1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#19)
- 1 - NY (100-9984) (ALBERT BLUMBERG) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY (100-45328) (DOROTHY ROSE BLUMBERG) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY (100-14899) (#20-11)
- 1 - NY (100-64035) (#20-11)
- 1 - NY (100-15347) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY (100-127734) (#20-10)

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
FILED.....

100-80638-1098

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(10)

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DIV 4
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SEG 16

7/12/56

SAC, DETROIT (100-2050)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

AIRTEL

CP, USA, ORGANIZATION, IS-C

FINAL. [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, b7D on 7/10/56 furnished SA JOHN W. MILLER a 2-page wireographed statement captioned "Statement: National Committee - CP, USA, June 24, 1956". This statement is identical to that appearing in Chicago letter to Director 6/29/56, instant caption, pages 4 through 7. Statement was given to each member at CP club meeting with instructions to read contents thoroughly so that discussions could ensue at future meetings.

[REDACTED] also furnished a 9-page report prepared by CARL WINTER, National CP, USA, Committee member, captioned "Report to Michigan State Committee by Carl Winter, June 5, 1956." The stated purpose of this report "is to summarize the four days of national deliberation, and to provide the basis for launching an open district discussion of Party policies." This report was given to those present at a CP Section Meeting, and will eventually be passed down to the club level for discussion among CP members. Reference material in conjunction with this report are the following three pamphlets:

"The Communist Takes A New Look" by EUGENE DENNIS.
"The Challenges of the '56 Elections" by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.
"The Meaning of the XXth Congress of the CPSU", by MAX WEISS.

BROWN

3 - Director
2 - Chicago

1 - New York

4 - Detroit

REGISTERED
(100-18953)
(A/134-46)
(100-80611)
(100-80638)
(100-2050)
(100-16906)

[REDACTED]
(100-25197)

REGISTERED

REGISTERED

100-80638-1099

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JUL 16 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

JWM:DEW
(11)

AIRTEL

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

JULY 13, 1956

SAC, CHICAGO (100-13942)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA

MEMBERSHIP

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bulkt to New York dated May 25, 1956, with copies to all offices. Referenced letter set forth a letter dated December 1, 1955, prepared by the National Organization Commission and addressed to all Communist Party Districts regarding transfers.

Referenced Bulkt stated that the Bureau is interested to know how and where transfer records are maintained by the Communist Party on a District and national level; the identity of individuals charged with keeping such records; the method by which such data is transmitted to the National Office; and whether those transfers are actually being maintained at the National Office or possibly kept elsewhere. The Chicago Division was requested to specifically interview CG 5324-S* for all information he may have in this regard.

This matter was discussed with CG 5324-S* by SA JOHN H. HARTING on July 10, 1956.

CG 5324-S* advised that, despite the instructions contained in the letter from the National Office with regard to transfers, this policy is not in effect to his knowledge. Those transfers which CG 5324-S* had seen are still being written on scraps of paper and do not contain all the information requested in the letter from the National Office.

In commenting on this, CG 5324-S* advised that in his opinion these instructions were prepared by PHIL HART. The informant believes that if HART had remained

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

1 - New York (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-30638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)

(1 - 100-10673)

(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL HART) (#19)

(1 - 100-39816) (TRED ELINE) (#19)

2 - Chicago

(1 - A-134-46)

SEARCHED
(B)

100-80638-
SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED
19 JUL 16 1956
FBI - NEW YORK
J.V. Waters

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DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP.

on the National Organization Commission or if FRED FLINE had not been relieved of his duties as Executive Secretary of the Communist Party - USA during his trial, that either one or both of them may have followed up on these instructions in order to see that they were carried out. CG 5824-S* also commented that the current political crisis in the Communist Party - USA, as a result of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, may also have had some effect on the failure of the Party to follow through on corrections with regard to matters of organization.

With regard to the maintaining of transfer records, CG 5824-S* advised that transfer records in a District would be maintained by the Organizational Secretary of the District. Transfer records on a national level would be maintained by a member of the National Organizational Committee and, in all probability, this person is [redacted] at the present time. In this regard CG 5824-S* stated that in his opinion no permanent record of transfers is kept, that is that the written information is destroyed as soon as it has reached the proper person and has been noted upon. Informant is also of the opinion that in most Districts and in the National Office no copies are kept of transfers. CG 5824-S* believes that if the National Office receives notice of a transfer from one District to another, that this notice is transmitted to the proper District with no record being maintained in the National Office. The District from which a person is transferred may keep a record of the number of out-of-District transfers, but not a record of the identities of the persons transferred. The same procedure is probably followed in intra-District transfers in most Districts.

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It is to be noted that transfers within the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District have been observed in the possession of [redacted] who was formerly the Organizational Secretary in this District and who continued to perform most of the functions of an Organizational Secretary without the title.

With regard to the method by which such data is transmitted to the National Office, CG 5824-S* advised that these transfer records are carried by any trusted person, usually a District functionary, who is going to New York City for one reason or another. It is to be noted that CG 5824-S* has carried transfers from Chicago to the National Office, and from the National Office to Chicago merely because he happened to be travelling between these two cities.

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With regard to whether transfers are actually being maintained at the National Office or possibly elsewhere, CG 5324-S* is of the opinion, as previously stated, that no permanent record of transfers is maintained by the National Office. CG 5324-S* is also of the opinion that transfers are not kept in the National Office, even on a temporary basis, but are probably carried on the person or in the residence of some member of the National Organizational Commission until they can be given to a person travelling to the District receiving the transfer. In the opinion of CG 5324-S*, [redacted] is probably the person who has possession of transfers which are temporarily at the National Office.

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